STRUCTURE OF ASSAMESE

G. C. GOSWAMI

UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

Jagannath Barooah University
sagir8453@gmail.com

Dr. M. B. Emeneau writes :

This volume contains phonology, morphology and an introduction to syntax. Students of Indo-Aryan and of general linguistics can now see in detail the results of the (otherwise unexampled) complete merger of the Indo-Aryan dentals and retroflexes in an alveolar series, with its implications for relationships with Tibeto-Burmese speakers. This is not the only far-reaching phonological innovation in Assamese ; the details needed for further study are presented here to interested scholars...

It is good that Assamese has finally received treatment which puts it on an equal footing linguistically with other major Indo-Aryan languages. We congratulate Dr. Goswami and look forward to the promised generative syntax.

STRUCTURE OF ASSAMESE

STRUCTURE
OF
ASSAMESE

GOLOCKCHANDRA GOSWAMI
M.A., D. PHIL.,
Professor and Head, Department of Assamese
Gauhati University

With a **FOREWORD** by
Professor **M. B. Emeneau** of the Department
of Classics and Linguistics, University of
California, Berkeley, USA.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATION
GAUHATI UNIVERSITY
1982

STRUCTURE OF ASSAMESE

by Professor Golockchandra Goswami, M.A., D. Phil,
Head of the Department of Assamese, Gauhati University.
Published by the Registrar, Gauhati University in the
Department of Publication.

© All rights reserved.

FIRST EDITION : 1982

Price : Rupees 75/- only

Printed at
THE POORAN PRESS
21, Balaram Ghose Street,
Calcutta-700 004.

TO
THE SACRED
MEMORY OF MY PARENTS
PARAMANANDA GOSWAMI
AND DAMAYANTI
D E V E E
WHO
ARE
IN ETERNAL
BLISS IN THEIR
HEAVENLY ABODE

मातृ भाषा तु जननी
स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी ॥

Native tongue, verily, is the mother,
more venerable than Heaven.

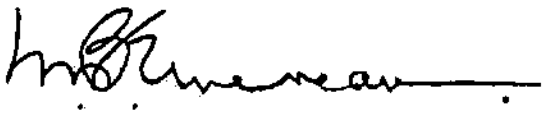
F O R E W O R D

The Assamese language is not unknown to linguistic scholarship. However, the attention that had been devoted to it before the 30's of this century was minimal and by no means commensurate with its interest as a somewhat atypical Indo-Aryan language. Thanks to Dr. G.C. Goswami's long devotion to the study of his language, building on the foundation laid in the 30's by his teacher Dr. Banikanta Kakati, we now have both a historical treatment (Assamese, Its Formation and development, by Banikanta Kakati, revised and edited by Golock Chandra Goswami, Gauhati, 1962) and this elaborate descriptive treatment.

This volume contains phonology, morphology, and an introduction to syntax. Students of Indo-Aryan and of general linguistics can now see in detail the results of the (otherwise unexampled) complete merger of the Indo-Aryan dentals and retroflexes in an alveolar series, with its implications for relationships with Tibeto-Burmese speakers. This is not the only far-reaching phonological innovation in Assamese; the details needed for further study are presented here to interested scholars.

Morphology likewise presents interesting features, some shared with other languages of the ''Magadhan'' subgroup, but others peculiar to Assamese. Notable are the failure of the Indo-Aryan gender system to appear, the development of ''definitives'' (often referred to as ''classifiers'' or ''numeratives'') with their peculiar syntax, the verbal inflection without number or gender agreement, the negative paradigm, etc. etc.

It is good that Assamese has finally received treatment which put it on an equal footing linguistically with other major Indo-Aryan languages. We congratulate Dr. Goswami and look forward to the promised generative syntax.



Berkeley, CA., USA
August 12, 1981

PREFACE

The STRUCTURE OF ASSAMESE is the first attempt at a complete description of the phonology and morphology of the Standard dialect of Assamese, and a revised version of my dissertation submitted to the Gauhati University for the D. Phil degree in 1966. The first part, viz., the phonology had already been published as *An Introduction to Assamese Phonology* by the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, in its Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series in 1966. Publication of the complete dissertation was delayed for various reasons, one being that I wanted to expand the chapter on Syntax ; but, then, had to defer the idea for a future monograph on T-G model, if possible. The present work, therefore, contains descriptive phonology and morphology in detail with an idea of Word-order only of Syntax of the language.

Research for the present work started at the Deccan College, Poona, where I was first initiated to modern linguistics as a student in the very First Winter School of Linguistics in 1954, and subsequently as a Research Fellow of the said College during 1955-'56 ; and was expanded and elaborated at the University of California, Berkeley, during the tenure of Research Fellowship of the Rockefeller Foundation of New York for advanced training in linguistics in 1956-'58. In both of these Institutions I had the rare privilege of learning and working under the guidance of great linguists of international repute, such as the Dr.s S. M. Katre, Director of the Deccan College, Gordon H. Fairbanks, visiting Professor at the Deccan College from the Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., M. B. Emeneau, Chairman of the Department of Classics and Professor of Linguistics, Mary R. Haas. Professor of Linguistics, and John J. Gumperz, Professor of the Department of Near-Eastern Languages, all the three of the University of California, Berkeley. Dr. John J. Gumperz was not only a teacher, but also a friend, philosopher and guide of mine during my two years of studies in the United States of America.

I am, indeed, deeply indebted to all these teachers, and acknowledge with gratitude (who can ever repay his *guru* ?) their personal affection and guidance. Special mention is due to Dr. S. M. Katre for acting as my formal guide for the degree programme later on, in spite of his heavy preoccupations, as also to Dr. Murray Barnson Emeneau for his continued interest in my research and training and for the **Foreword** to the book, which I cherish as a blessing from my revered *guru*.

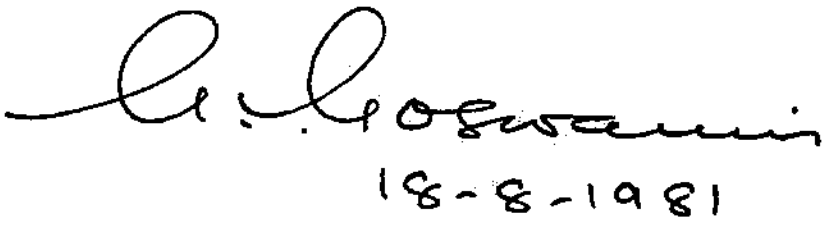
And here I must pay special homage to the late Professors, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the doyen of Indian linguistics, Banikanta Kakati, the pioneer of Linguistic Research in Assam, and Birinchi Kumar Barua, the vibrating spirit of Assamese life, literature and culture, who had been the trio in my life as ever being the great source of inspiration in linguistic pursuit.

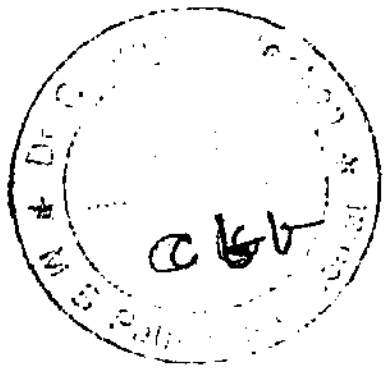
My grateful thanks are due, for useful comments, suggestions and encouragement on various occasions, to my co-Fellows and friends in the field, the Dr.s Ashok R. Kelkar, Director, Centre of advanced study in Linguistics, University of Poona, Hemige Shrinivash R, Biligiri, Professor and Head, Department of Linguistics, University of Bombay, M. Shanmugam Pillai, Professor and Head, Department of Tamil Studies, Madurai University, Deviprasanna Pattanayak, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, Bh. Krishnamurthy, Professor and Head, and H. S. Ananthanarayana, Professor, Department of Linguistics of the Osmania University, P. C. Bhattacharya, Principal, B. Baruah College, Gauhati, and Professor U. N. Goswami, my colleague in the Assamese Department. Among the senior friends I should like to record my linguistic association with the Professors A. M. Ghatage, M. A. Mehendale, N. G. Kalelkar and Nilmadhav Sen, all of the Deccan College, Poona.

I am indebted to the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, and the Rockefeller Foundation of New York for their Fellowships for training in linguistics in India and abroad. Grateful acknowledgement is also due to the Authorities of the Gauhati University for publishing the book through the Department of Publication with a grant from the University Grants Commission.

And, I must not fail to express my thanks to Shri Keshav Mahanta, Publication Officer of the Department of Publication, G. U., and Shri Dev Kumar Munshi of the Pooran Press, Calcutta, for their special attention and co-operation in bringing out the book, a finished product.

Gauhati University
August 18–1981





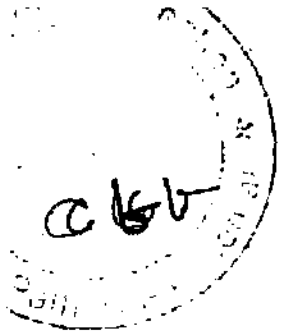
CONTENTS

Pages

Correction Slip

Please correct the following mistakes and tear off the slip. Thanks.

page	line	wrong	correct
5	29	§ 4.3.2	§§ 8.41—8.4326
	31	§ 4.4.2	§§ 9.2210—9.2215
9	30	1872	1873
13	10	ɒxɒntuxiya	ɒxɒntuxia
	11	phukɒnɒniye	phukɒnɒnie
97	18	A.	C.
129	12	xiɦɒt	xiɦɒ̃t
195	25	kɒl—A	kal—A
197	6	(N-V)	(N-V3)
208	22	bɒɦua	bɔɦua
212	5	replanced	replaced
215	20	women	womau
218	10	a is	ao is
219	1	tar tãr	tar~tãr
230	26	allophone	allomorph
241	14	two	ten
294	7	—Assam	—1959. Assam



CONTENTS

		Pages
	Dedicatory note	v
	Foreword	vii
	Preface	ix
	Abbreviations	xxi
	Explanation of symbols used in the text	xxiii
0	INTRODUCTION	
1.10	The language, the land and the people ...	1
1.11	The name and its deriviation ...	1
1.12	Language situation and position of Assamese	1
1.13	Number of speakers ...	2
1.20	Evolution and history of Assamese ...	3
1.21	Indo-Aryan origin ...	3
1.22	Kāmarūpī Apabhraṁśa ...	3
1.23	Individualization of the speech ...	4
1.24	Impact of indigenous speeches ...	5
1.25	Earliest specimen ...	6
1.26	Distinctive periods of the language ...	7
1.27	The vocabulary ...	10
.30	Dialects and their variations ...	11
1.31	Dialectical regions ...	11
1.32	Nature of dialectical variations ...	12
1.3210	Phonological ...	12
1.3211	Morphological ...	15
1.3212	Glossarial ...	16
.40	Literary trends and traditions ...	17
1.41	The folk tradition ...	17
1.42	Distinctive periods of Assamese literature ..	18
1.4210	Early Assamese period ...	18
1.4211	Middle Assamese period ...	21

		Pages
1.4212 Modern Assamese period	...	21
1.50 Linguistic studies on Assamese	...	23
1.60 Scope of the present investigation	...	26
2.00 THE PHONEMES	...	31
2.10 A General note on Consonants and Vowels	...	31
2.11 The phonemes in tables	...	31
2.12 Phonemes in constrasts : Consonants	...	32
2.20 Consonants and their distribution	...	34
2.30 Allophones of the Consonants	...	35-83
2.31 Environments responsible for allophonic variations		35
2.32 Allophones, their phonetic values and distribution		36
2.3210 The bilabial stops	...	36
2.3220 The alveolar stops	...	44
2.3230 The velar stops	...	54
2.3240 The spirants	...	62
2.3250 The nasals	...	73
2.3260 The lateral	...	77
2.3270 The trill	...	78
2.3280 The frictionless continuants	...	81
2.40 Consonant clusters	...	83-94
2.41 Distribution of clusters	...	83
2.42 Clusters of more than two consonants	...	84
2.43 Consonant gemination	...	85
2.44 Clusters in a chart	...	85
2.45 Clusters illustrated	...	85-94
2.50 The aspirates	...	95
2.51 The stops : are they clusters ?	...	95
2.52 The aspirates / rɦ / and / ŋɦ /	...	96
3.00 THE VOWELS	...	97-127
3.10 The vowels in a chart	...	97
3.11 Types of vowel contrasts	...	97

		Pages
3.12 Contrasts A, B, and C in tables	...	98
3.13 Contrasts illustrated	...	98
3.1310 Eight-way contrasts	...	98
3.1311 Six-way contrasts	...	98
3.1312 Five-way contrasts	...	99
3.20 Distribution of the vowels	...	99
3.21 Table of vowel distribution	...	99
3.22 Distribution of / ɐ /	...	100
3.23 Distribution of / ɒ /	...	100
3.24 Distribution of / o /	...	101
3.30 Vowel allophony : Common allophones	...	102
3.31 Nasalized allophones	...	102
3.32 Diphthongal allophones	...	103
3.33 Centralized allophones	...	104
3.34 Glottalized allophones	...	104
3.35 Half-voiced allophones	...	105
3.36 Allophonic vowel length	...	105
3.40 The allophones : their phonetic values and distribution	...	105
3.41 High-front unrounded / i /	...	106
3.42 Mean-mid front unrounded / e /	...	108
3.43 Lower-mid front unrounded / ɛ /	...	109
3.44 Low central / a /	...	110
3.45 Low back rounded / ɒ /	...	111
3.46 Lower-mid back rounded / ɔ /	...	112
3.47 Mean-mid back rounded / o /	...	113
3.48 High back rounded / u /	...	115
3.50 Vowel clusters	...	117
3.51 Vowel clusters in a chart	...	117
3.52 Vowel clusters illustrated	...	119
3.5210 The two-vowel clusters	...	119
3.5211 The three-vowel clusters	...	124

		Pages
3.5212 The four-vowel clusters	...	126
3.5213 The five-vowel clusters	...	126
3.60 The phoneme of nasalization	...	127
3.70 The structure of the syllable	...	130
4.00 STRESS	...	131-136
4.10 Word stress	...	131
4.11 Two word stresses	...	131
4.12 Contrasts illustrated	...	131
4.13 Allophones of the stresses and their distribution	...	132
4.14 All allophones illustrated	...	133
4.20 Utterance stress	...	134
4.21 Phonetic realization of the utterance stresses	...	134
4.2110 The emphatic stress / ˈˈ /	...	134
4.2120 The sentence stress / ˈ /	...	134
4.22 Distribution	...	135
4.23 Effects on the word stress	...	135
5.00 JUNCTURE	...	136-143
5.10 The open junctures	...	136
5.20 The terminal junctures	...	137
5.21 The terminal junctures in a table	...	137
5.22 The phrase terminals	...	137
5.2210 Single bar juncture / | /	...	138
5.2211 Hyphen juncture / - /	...	138
5.2212 The junctures illustrated	...	138
5.23 Utterance terminals	...	141
5.2310 Falling / ‖ /	...	141
5.2320 Rising / ? /	...	141
5.2330 Abrupt rising / ↄ /	...	142
5.2340 Holding / # /	...	142
5.2350 Surprise / ! /	...	

		Pages
6.00 MORPHOPHONEMICS	...	144-153
6.10 A general note	...	144
6.11 Conditions of morphophonemic alternations		144
6.20 The vowel morphophonemes	...	143
6.21 ɐ	...	145
6.22 ɒ	...	145
6.23 o	...	148
6.24 i	...	148
6.25 a	...	149
6.26 A	...	152
6.30 Consonant alternations	...	153
7.00 THE MORPHEMES	...	157-162
7.10 Three classes of morphemes	...	157
7.20 The root morphemes	...	157
7.21 Classification of the roots	...	157
7.22 The shape of the root	...	158
7.2210 Canonical forms	...	158
7.30 The sub-root morphemes	...	159
7.40 The affixes	...	161
7.41 A general note on the affixes	...	161
7.42 Classification of the affixes	...	161
7.50 The base	...	162
7.60 The stem	...	162
8.00 DERIVATION	...	162-246
8.10 Derivative mechanism	...	162
8.20 The nominals and verbals	...	162
8.21 A general note	...	162
8.22 The suffixes	...	162
8.2210 The suffixes in a table	...	163
8.2220 suffixes illustrated	...	164-208
8.23 Vowel change	...	209
8.24 Reduplication	...	209
8.2410 Types of reduplication	...	209

	Pages
8.2411 Complete reduplication : Onomatopoetic	210
8.2412 -ditto- : non-onomatopoetic ...	210
8.2413 Change in initial consonant ...	211
8.2414 Change in medial vowel ...	212
8.2415 Repetition of the final syllable ...	212
8.2416 Repetition with change in consonants	213
8.2417 Repetition of the initial syllable ...	214
8.25 The prefixes ...	215
8.2510 Classification of the prefixes ...	215
8.2511 I-C of the morphological constructions	215
8.2520 The prefixes explained and illustrated	216
8.2521 Prefixes of Class I ...	216
8.2522 Prefixes of Class II ...	227
8.2523 Prefixes of Class III ...	230
8.30 The pronouns and pronominals ...	233
8.31 A general note ...	233
8.3110 The pronominal root ...	233
8.32 The pronominal derivatives ...	234
8.3210 Prefixes explained and illustrated ...	234
8.3220 Suffixes explained and illustrated ...	238
8.40 The definitives ...	240
8.41 A general note ...	240
8.42 The singular definitives ...	240
8.43 The definitives illustrated ...	241
8.44 The plural definitives ...	245
8.45 The plural definitives illustrated ...	246
9.00 INFLECTION ...	249-279
9.10 Verbal inflection ...	249
9.11 Two sets of inflections ...	249
9.12 The verbal stem ...	249
9.1210 Types of verbal stems ...	249
9.1211 Stem type I ...	249
9.1212 Stem type II ...	250
9.1213 Stem type III ...	250

		Pages
9.1214 Stem type IV	...	251
9.1215 Stem type V	...	251
9.13 Finite inflection	...	252
9.1310 Personal inflection	...	252
9.1311 First Personal	...	252
9.1312 Second Personal Polite	...	253
9.1313 Second Personal Familiar	...	253
9.1314 Third Personal	...	254
9.131410 The Imperative	...	254
9.131411 The non-Imperative	...	255
9.1320 Impersonal inflection	...	257
9.1321 The Passive	...	257
9.14 Non-finite inflection	...	257
9.15 Sample paradigms	...	258
9.16 Morpheme alternants in verbal forms	...	263
9.17 Irregular verbs	...	263
9.20 Nominal inflection	...	264
9.21 Inflection for Cases	...	264
9.2110 The Absolute	...	264
9.2111 The Nominative	...	265
9.2112 The Accusative	...	266
9.2113 The Dative	...	267
9.2114 The Genitive	...	268
9.2115 The Locative	...	269
9.22 Inflection for Personal Relations	...	269
9.2210 The two sets of inflections	...	269
9.2211 The four Persons	...	270
9.2212 First Person	...	270
9.2213 Second Person Familiar	...	271
9.2214 Second Person Polite	...	271
9.2215 Third Person	...	272
9.30 Pronominal inflection	...	273
9.31 The Stem	...	273
9.3110 Two types of stems	...	273
9.3111 The stems in a chart	...	273

	Pages
9.3112 Stem alternants in Pronominal forms	276
9.3120 Irregular Pronouns ...	276
9.32 Pronominal Case inflection ...	277
9.3210 The Cases ...	277
9.3211 The Nominative ...	277
9.3212 The Absolute ...	277
9.3213 The other Cases ...	278
9.3214 Inflectional paradigms ...	283
10.00 SYNTAX ...	283
10.10 A general note ...	283
10.20 Utterance and its parts ...	283
10.30 Constituents of an utterance analyzed ...	289
10.40 Word-Order ...	293
A Select Bibliography ...	297
Word Index ...	

ABBREVIATIONS

Acc.	...	Accusative.
Adj.	...	Adjective.
Adv.	...	Adverb.
C	...	Consonant.
Cv	...	Connective.
Ex	...	Extension.
FP	...	First person.
fam.	...	Familiar or general.
fem./f.	...	Feminine.
I	...	Indeclinable.
Mas./m.	...	Masculine.
N	...	Nominal.
N-V	...	Nominal-Verbal.
Nom.	...	Nominative.
O	...	Object.
P	...	Prefix or Predicate, according to context.
P E	...	Personal endings.
pl.	...	Plural.
pol.	...	Polite form (of the pronouns).
Rel.	...	Relative (pronoun).
S	...	Subject or Suffix, according to context.
Sg./sg.	...	Singular.
S P F	...	Second person familiar.
S P P	...	Second person polite.
T P	...	Third person.
V	...	Vowel, Verb or Verbal, according to context.
Vd.	...	Voiced.
Vl.	...	Voiceless.

Symbols used in the text

Symbols		Values
p	...	Stop or plosive, Vl., Bil., Unasp.
ph	...	Stop or plosive, Vl., Bil., Asp.
pɸ	...	Bil. Vl. affricate, i.e. the Vl. stop immediately followed by the homoorganic spirant.
ɸ	...	Bil. Vl. spirant.
b	...	Stop or plosive, Vd., Bil., Unasp.
bɦ	...	Stop or plosive, Vd., Bil., Asp.
bβ	...	Bil. Vd. affricate.
β	...	Bil. Vd. spirant.
t	...	Stop or plosive, Alv., Unasp., Vl.
ʈ	...	Retroflex stop, Vl., Unasp.
tθ	...	Affricate, Alv., Vl.
th	...	Stop or plosive, Alv., Vl., Asp.
d	...	Stop or plosive, Alv., Vd., Unasp.
ɖ	...	Retroflex stop, Vd., Unasp.
d̪	...	Stop or plosive, Prealveolar, Vd., Unasp.
dɦ	...	Stop or plosive, Alv., Vd., Asp.
k	...	Stop or plosive, Velar, Vl., Unasp.
kᶜ	...	Velar Vl. stop immediately followed by palatal Vl. spirant.
kh	...	Stop or plosive, Velar, Vl., Asp.
khᶜ	...	kh immediately followed by palatal Vl. spirant ç.
g	...	Stop or plosive, Velar, Vd., Unasp.
gɦ	...	Stop or plosive, Velar, Vd., Asp.
s	...	Spirant, Alv., Vl.
sʲ	...	Spirant, palatalized, Vl.
z	...	Spirant, Alv., Vd.
θ	...	Spirant, Alv., Vl.

ç	...	Spirant, Palatal, Vl.
x	...	Spirant, Velar, Vl.
ɦ	...	Spirant, glottal, Vd.
h	...	Spirant, glottal, ends voiceless.
ḥ	...	Spirant, glottal, Vl.
m	...	Nasal, Bil., Vd.
m̥	...	Nasal, Bil., starts Vl.
n	...	Nasal, Alv., Vd.
ṇ	...	Retroflex nasal, Vd.
ŋ	...	Nasal, Velar, Vd.
r	...	Frictionless continuant, often a flap, Alv., Vl.
r̥	...	Trill, Alv. Vd.
l	...	Lateral, Alv., Vd.
l̥	...	Lateral, Alv., starts Vl.
y, j	...	Frictionless continuant, palatal, Vd.
w	...	Frictionless continuant, bilabial, Vd.
a	...	Low central vowel, Vd.
ɒ	...	Low back rounded vowel, Vd.
e	...	Mean-mid front unrounded vowel, Vd.
e̯	...	Consonantal or semi-vowel quality of e.
ɛ	...	Lower-mid front unrounded vowel, Vd.
i	...	High front unrounded vowel, Vd.
i̯	...	Consonantal or semi-vowel quality of i.
ɪ	...	Lower high front unrounded vowel, Vd.
ï/i̇/ɪ/i	...	These are used in Morphology, and they all have the same phonemic value (= / i /) without any morphophonemic implication.
A/ä	...	They mean phonemically / a /.
o	...	Mid back rounded vowel, Vd.
ɔ	...	Lower-mid back rounded vowel, Vd.
o̯/ɔ̯	...	Consonantal o/ɔ respectively.

u	...	High back rounded Vowel, Vd.
u̯	...	Consonantal u.
U̯	...	Lower-high back rounded vowel, Vd.
U̯	...	Consonantal U.
ϕ	...	Nothing, i.e. zero.

Diacritical Marks

~	...	Written on the line means free variation, on the vowels, such as ã, ẽ etc. means nasalization.
ə	...	Vocalic release of the consonants.
ˈ	...	Primary stress.
ˈ ˄ ˅ ˇ	...	These are allophones of the weak stress arranged according to the descending order in their intensity and loudness.
ˌ	...	Sentence stress.
ˌˌ	...	Emphatic stress.
+	...	open juncture.
-	...	hyphen juncture in morphology, it signifies morpheme boundaries.
‖	...	Falling juncture.
ʔ	...	Rising juncture.
ƽ	...	Abrupt rising juncture.
#	...	Holding juncture.
ǀ	...	Surprise juncture.
‾	...	Written below consonant, e.g. d̲, t̲, means prealveolar; above the spirants s̄, z̄, means slit spirant.

^ ... Above the vowels at the side, e.g. a^, ɛ^, etc. means raising a little ; below the vowels, e.g. i̯, e̯, o̯, u̯, etc. means the vowels are consonantal ; below consonants, e.g. p̲, d̲, etc. means the consonants are fortis or tense.

v ... Below consonants means the consonants are lax.

ˈ ... Just preceding consonant or vowel means glottal constriction ; after the consonants means the consonants are unreleased.

< ... Fronted ; e.g. k<, u< etc. ; also, in Morphology, it means descriptively 'develops from'.

> ... Back ; e.g. k>, a>, etc.

. ... Written at the side means half length ; below consonants means retroflexion.

: ... Full length.

// ... Enclose phonemes and phonemic writing.

[ ] ... Enclose allophones.

INTRODUCTION

1.10 The language, the land and the people

1.11 The name and its derivation. Assamese is the anglicized name of *Asamīyā*, the major language spoken in the north-eastern part of the country beyond West-Bengal. It is the language of Assam, pronounced ɒxɒm by the native speakers, and hence the word *Asamīyā* (ɒxɒmija), derived from *Asama* plus adjectival affix *-īyā* meaning 'of', 'relating' or 'belonging to'.

Asama, the name of the province, is of recent origin. It is 'connected with the Shan invaders of the Brahmaputra Valley', who conquered the land in 1228 A.D., and who gradually merged themselves with the local population they conquered and reigned for full six hundred years till the advent of the British in 1826 A.D. The Shan new comers called themselves *Tāi*, but came to be known as *Āhoma* later on. So, then, how to connect *Asama* with the *Tāi* or *Āhoma*? Banikanta Kakati (1962:§§ 2-3) suggests that *Asama* might be a Sanskritized formation of some native element which, in the beginning, signified the people, but then, was extended to identify the country ruled by them. While the name of the country remained *Asama*, that of the people underwent phonetic changes to emerge as *Ahama* and *Āhoma* as recorded in the early *burañjīs*, i.e. historical writings. It is common knowledge that the name of a country or a land has a stabilizing force, while that of the people or the language undergoes phonetic changes. For example, the names Nepala, Draviḍa, Singhala and Sindhu (the name of the river) have been for centuries as they are today, but the names of the people or the languages have changed to Newar, Tamil, Eḷu and Hindu respectively. And so is *Asama*, the land, and *Āhoma*, the people.

1.12 Language situation and position of Assamese. The north-eastern part of the country has been a veritable tower of Babel with, according to the Census of India, 1961, a total of 192 languages and dialects including 31 non-Indian languages spoken in Assam alone. There are languages belonging to the four great

language families spoken in India, viz., Indo-European represented by Assamese, Bengali, etc., the Sino-Tibetan, the Austric, and the Dravidian. Khasi language and its dialects in the Khasi hills constitute an islet of Austric speech surrounded by Assamese and some Tibeto-Burman languages. The Bodo, Kachari, Mikir, Chutiya, etc., belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. The various clans of the *Āhoms* in the eastern Assam districts of Sibsagar, Dibrugarh and Lakhimpur speak one or the other dialect of the Thai-Kadai branch of the above family. Besides these, a sizable population in the tea-garden areas speak dialects belonging to Dravidian languages of South-India.

However, Assamese is the major language spoken in Assam and serves almost as a lingua franca among different speech communities in the whole area. It is spoken in all the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, and Arunachala. In Assam, it is spoken in the Brahmaputra Valley districts extending from Lakhimpur in the east, to Goalpara bordering Bangladesh and West-Bengal in the west. It is also the common speech in all the districts of Arunachala used by the people inhabiting the border areas to the plains. Arunachala is a land of numerous dialects and subdialects, most of them mutually unintelligible. Every tribe or clan virtually speaks a dialect of its own, and uses Assamese as a common language for inter-tribe communication. In the past, the British administrative officers, anthropologists and foreign travellers had to be assisted by Assamese *dobhāṣis*, i.e. interpreters. After creation of the separate state of Arunachala, All India Radio broadcasts common newsletters and programmes in Assamese for the people.

The situation in Nagaland is no different, where, excepting the tribes inhabiting the border areas with northern Burma, all others speak a form of hybrid Assamese called Nagamese—a harmonious blend of Naga dialects and Assamese. In the northern regions of the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup and Darrang, the Bhutanese people of the contiguous areas communicate for their business and other purposes in Assamese.

1.13 Number of speakers. Surrounded and interspersed all around by 161 Indian languages and dialects (according to the Census of India, 1961), Assamese is the mother-tongue of the largest segment of the population : about 68 lakhs constituting 57 percent of the total population of the state of Assam that included the recently

formed states of Meghalaya and Mizorama. And it is also spoken and understood as a second or subsidiary language by another 15 percent of the people. Thus, the importance and status of Assamese, a constitutionally recognized national language in the northern states of the Indian Union may be realized.

1.20 Evolution and history of Assamese

1.21 Indo-Aryan origin. Assamese is an Indo-Aryan language originated from the Vedic dialects, and therefore, a sister of all the northern Indian languages of the country. But the exact nature of the origin and growth of the language is not very clear as yet. It is supposed that like other Aryan languages Assamese was also born from Apabhraṁśa dialects developed from Māgadhī Prakrit of the eastern group of Sanskritic languages. Māgadhī Prakrit gave rise to four Apabhraṁśa dialects, viz. Rāḍha, Vaṅga, Vārendra and Kāmarūpa (S.K.Chatterji : 1926 : p. 140). The first three dialects directed their course to the south and south-east in Bengal, and developed into the various dialects of Bengali. The Kāmarūpa dialect spread to the east keeping north of the Ganges and is represented in North-Bengal at present by North-Bengali and in the valley of Assam by Assamese. North-Bengal and Assam did not get their language from Bengal proper but directly from the west (B.Kakati : 1962 : p. 3). In early times the language of North-Bengal and Assam constituted a single dialect group which continued to be the same even when the different dialectical offshoots penetrated far into the eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachala. History tells us how the Kocha kings of Koch-Behar in North-Bengal patronized Assamese language and literature during the time of Mahārāja Naṛanārāyaṇa and his brother Chilārāya in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. But during the last century the language of North-Bengal has been influenced to a very great extent by its neighbour Bengali, and after political amalgamation of the areas with West-Bengal the process of change to Bengali has been accelerated.

1.22 Kāmarūpa Apabhraṁsa. The history of Assamese can be traced back to very early times. It has, to its credit, an indirect reference by Hiuen T'sang, the great Chinese traveller of the seventh century A.D. Hiuen T'sang visited Kāmarūpa, the ancient name by which Assam was referred to, in 643 A.D. during the reign of Kumāra Bhāskara Varmā. He recorded that the language of

Kāmarūpa 'differed a little from that of mid-India'. Now, a question may arise as to what that language of Kāmarūpa might be, that was different from the language of middle India. Could it be some Austric or Tibeto-Burman language which was, by origin, and hence structurally, quite different from the Aryan language? Or, could it be some Aryan language which might have undergone tremendous changes due to the linguistic acculturation in this predominantly non-Aryan country?

It should be pertinent to note at this point that 'a silent Aryanization of Assam was evidently taking place during the time extending over one millennium from 1000 B.C. onwards' (S.K. Chatterji : 1959 : p. 2). It should also be remembered that the 'Kumāra Rājā', i.e. Bhāskara Varmā, was a Hindu king who patronized Sanskrit learning and culture. Therefore, by the seventh century A.D. the great kingdom of the 'Kumāra Rājā', that extended to a considerable part of Bengal, must have been populated by the Aryans who, by virtue of their superiority, spread their language among the aboriginal people speaking Austric and Tibeto-Burman languages. The native population started giving up their unwritten and undeveloped language for a much more developed Aryan tongue; and thereby the number of speakers kept on swelling like snow balls as the language penetrated deeper and deeper into the Brahmaputra Valley and the neighbouring hills. Thus, the entirely different speech habits of the local population must have moulded the Kāmarūpa Apabhraṁśa (for, those were the days of Apabhraṁśa stages of Aryan languages all over the country), into a unique shape, and attributed such a distinct character as the great Chinese traveller could not pass over it unnoticed. There is no recorded evidence of the language as characterized by this Kāmarūpa Apabhraṁśa. But the copper-plate inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa kings from the fifth through thirteenth centuries A.D., written though in Sanskrit, throw some light as to the various typical phonological and quite a few morphological peculiarities of the language that gave birth to Assamese later on.

1.23 Individualization of the speech. The influence of the Austric and Tibeto-Burman languages in individualizing Assamese can never be over-emphasized. The language as it stands today, as perhaps in ancient times, is distinguished by many characteristics all its own. It presents tremendous modifications in all the departments, viz., in phonology, i.e. pronunciation, in morphology,

i.e. derivation, conjugation, declension, etc., in syntax, i.e. structure of phrases, clauses and sentences, and in vocabulary. In phonology the Sanskrit cerebral and the dental series of stop consonants totally disappeared and a completely different set of alveolar stop consonants evolved instead. This means both the cerebral and the dental series phonemically merged into an alveolar series of stops not found in any of the Aryan languages of the country. Likewise, palatal *c* and *ch* merged into alveolar s (as s in English 'sin') and *j*, *jh* and *y* into alveolar z (as z in English 'zoo'). All the Sanskrit sibilants, *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* changed their points of articulation and merged into a velar voiceless spirant x, phonetically like German *ch* as in *ich* 'I', and *acht* 'eight'. (For details, read B. Kakati : 1962 : §§ 97, 102-5, G. C. Goswami : 1966 : 2.324 (3)). This feature appears to be a unique development, an innovation in the language, which, along with the other changes discussed above make the phonological structure of Assamese entirely different from any of her sister languages.

To come to morphology and syntax, the Old Indo-Aryan language from which Assamese originated, was a very highly synthetic language. Its later developments in Pāli, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa also retained this synthetic character, even though in some simplified form; but Assamese retained only a minimum of inflections and became much more analytical. For example, number and gender categories no longer remained as grammatical ; that means, the subject and verb agreement in number, unlike in Sanskrit or Hindi, has become irrelevant. Likewise, the gender agreement between the adjunct and the substantive qualified is lost. There are two more distinguishing features in Assamese, which have been ascribed to non-Aryan influences : the use of enclitic definitives (see §4. 3. 2) and the inflections for four persons of the nouns of relationship (see §4. 4. 2). The vocabulary has been saturated to such an extent by incorporation of indigenous elements that great scholars like Nathan Brown (1893 : pp. vii-ix) and B.Kakati (1962 : §§ 40-81) were perplexed and intrigued.

1.24 Impact of indigenous speeches. It has been clear from the above that such far reaching changes and innovations of the Aryan tongue were the results of a fusion of Aryan and extra-Aryan speakers into a common fold and medium, viz., Assamese ; and that this fusion had been very early was evidenced by Hiuen T'sang in

his remarks on the language. Subsequent events of historical times bear clear evidence of this. As an example, the Āhoms, i.e. the Shan conquerors who are responsible for the present name Assam of the state, left their own Tāi speech and accepted Assamese as the state language for consolidation of the Āhom kingdom spread far into the tribal areas in the fifteenth century A.D. The important point to be noted here is that they changed over to Assamese after more than two hundred years of administrative experiences. In the same way the Austric people and the speakers of various Tibeto-Burman languages must have had their share in this fusion.

1.25 Earliest specimen. The earliest specimen of recorded literature of Assamese is available in the mystic *dohās* of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas. These *dohās*, better known as *Caryās*, were discovered in Nepal by Haraprasad Shastri who edited and published them under the title *Baudha Gān O dohā*. The *Caryās* were written between eighth and twelfth centuries A.D. by Tāntric Buddhists hailing from different parts of eastern India ; and some of these people were recognized as belonging to Kāmarūpa of ancient times by the Sino-Tibetologists.

The language of the *Caryās* is late Apabhraṁśa, and therefore, represents the formative period of the modern eastern group of Aryan languages including Assamese. There are many features both in phonology and grammar that have been identified as typically Assamese to be carried over to the modern language. Some of the idiomatic expressions are quite homely even today among the Assamese people. Besides the linguistic features, the literary form, viz., the *dohā* is also the precursor of Assamese *Bargīta*, the song celestial composed by the early Vaishnavite poets of Assam.

'Another important work which has been claimed as a purely Bengali work, but which, nevertheless, preserves the earliest Assamese formations is *Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana* of Baḍu Caṇḍidāsa' (B.Kakati : 1953 : p. 4 ; 1962 : §§ 17-18). Like the *Caryās*, this work also must have been written in mixed dialects or dialect groups which, in course of time individualized as Assamese and Bengali. But the earliest literary work available so far, which may be claimed as distinctly Assamese is the *Prahrāda Carita* written by a court poet

named Hema Sarasvatī in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The language of this short poem seems to have been still nurtured in the cradle of its Apabhraṁśa mother. Ever since the fourteenth century onwards there has been a continuous stream of literature to the modern times.

1.26 Distinctive periods of the language. B. Kakati (1962 : §§ 22-32) has divided the history of the language into three periods as follows :

(i) Early Assamese from the fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century, which again has been split into (a) the Pre-Vaishnavite and (b) the Vaishnavite sub-periods.

(ii) Middle Assamese from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, i.e. up to the annexation of Assam under the British rule.

(iii) Modern Assamese from the early part of the nineteenth century up to modern times.

1.2610 In the **early Assamese** period the language became mature enough in the hands of quite a few distinguished court poets of the time. It emerged as the most powerful vehicle of expression in the *Rāmāyaṇa* rendered into Assamese by Kavirāja Mādhava Kandalī, the greatest wizard of the Assamese idiom of early times, whom the saint poet Śaṅkaradeva paid respectful homage as 'unerring predecessor'. The language of this period is marked by the use of some archaic forms and conjunctive particles which are absent in the Vaishnavite sub-period.

Śaṅkaradeva brought about a Vaishnavite revival during the 15th-16th centuries accompanied by a revival of the language and literature as well. Brajabuli form and expressions were introduced into the language by Śaṅkaradeva himself in his one-act plays and in the *Bargīta*, which was carried on by his followers. And again Śaṅkaradeva was the first to create a prose style of writing in his *Aṅkīyā Nāta*. Early Assamese prose introduced by Śaṅkaradeva developed to fuller strength and glory in the works of Vaikuṇṭhanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya Kaviratna who translated the entire *Bhāgavata purāṇa* and the *Gītā*, besides many other scriptures into a masterly prose. Kaviratna's was a classical prose, highly restrained and selective in the use of words, phrases and idioms, a style all his own. He made plenteous use of Sanskrit forms and

expressions harmoniously blended with Assamese syntax. His supreme command over both Sanskrit and Assamese helped him achieve brevity and clarity all at once, even in highly abstruse philosophical discussions. It is tempting to quote what Āchārya P. C. Ray, the noted scientist and savant of India, said about the prose of Kaviratna who is better known and famous as Bhaṭṭadeva. He said, 'Indeed the prose *Gītā* of Bhaṭṭadeva composed in the sixteenth century is unique in its kind...It is a priceless treasure. Assamese prose literature developed to a stage in the far distant sixteenth century which no other literature of the world reached except the writings of Hooker and Latimer in England' (quoted from B.K. Barua's : 1953 : p. 129). Śiṣṭa Bhaṭṭāchārya, Raghunātha Mahanta and others tried to continue this prose, but failed to maintain the high dignity and strain so characteristic of the master writer.

1.2611 Middle Assamese is the period of secular prose. Verse form marked a decline while prose became the main vehicle of expression for all purposes. Different styles in prose developed, such as the colloquial prose style (of the *Kathā Guru carita* and other prose biographies of the religious *gurus*), the archaic prose (of the *mantra puthis*, i.e. books on charms), the conventional prose (of utilitarian literature, such as medicine, astrology, arithmetic, dance and music, and of the commentaries on religious scriptures), and above all, the standardized literary prose of high standing (of the diplomatic letters, administrative records and regular history, better known as the *burañjī* in Assamese). The colloquial prose is a live style with all the verve and vitality of a spoken syntax ; but the prose of the *burañjīs* is a standardized literary prose in true sense of the term. It is through this prose that Arabic and Persian elements entered the language in abundance. This prose that broke away from the classical school developed by Bhaṭṭadeva and others, approaches very near to the literary language of the modern period.

1.2612 The Modern Assamese period begins with the translation and publication of the Bible in Assamese in 1813 A.D. It was the American Baptist Missionaries who laid the foundation of the modern Assamese literary idiom. The present day standard literary language, based on the eastern dialect of Sibsagar, did not evolve from the early Assamese literary standard : with entire change in the political set up of the region brought about by the

coming of the British in 1826, the academic, or better the earlier literary trends as also the age old tradition of early and middle Assamese developments were totally snapped, and a new literary language and idiom originated in the middle of the nineteenth century when the Missionaries established the first printing press in 1836, printed the second Assamese grammar in 1848 and the Assamese to Assamese and English dictionary in 1867. They also started publishing the first Assamese journal, the *Aruṇodaya* in 1846, wrote volumes of Christian literature, and thus created a tempo of producing a new literature in Assam. The Missionaries learnt and used for writing purposes the dialect of the area round about Sibsagar in eastern Assam where they established headquarters for their activities in north-eastern India. They wrote as they heard the speech in a new orthography. But this new idiom lost all the vigour and vitality of the well developed standard literary language that had grown during its long history of evolution. The language became almost effeminate, soft and delicate relying entirely on indigenous *tadbhava* elements. This was evident in the language of the *Aruṇodaya* and other Christian literature of the time. The Assamese intelligentia nodded down to this, being totally demoralized after losing not only political independence at Yandabu in 1826, but also their own speech from the schools and Courts in 1836. It was, as if, a black-hole tragedy for the Assamese language perpetrated by some cunning native officials brought by the Britishers from Bengal. These officials conspired and explained away Assamese as a local variant of the Bengali language, and hence its expulsion from schools and offices. Struggle for existence began, and Assamese could stand the ordeal at last. The British administrators realized their mistake and corrected it by reinstating Assamese in its own place in 1873; thanks to the untiring efforts of the Missionaries assisted by the Assamese elite of the time. During this struggle the native writers of Assamese did not pay much attention to the nature of the new language evolved by the foreigners. Anandaram Dhekiyal Phookan, his daughter Padmavati Devi Phookanani and many others unhesitatingly accepted the language and enriched the literature.

Coming of the British and their English language heralded a new era of renaissance in Assam as in other parts of the country. Waves of modern thoughts, ideas, and literary forms swept the land through the English language and literature. Assamese scholars acquainted with English found the Missionary idiom

wanting in all respects; it was hardly capable of standing the stress and strain of the western impact. Confronted with such a situation they realized what was amiss. They looked back into the fully mature prose of the chronicles of the earlier period, that possessed all the strength and vitality to accept the new challenge. Hemchandra Barua and his followers immediately reverted to the syntax and style of that prose and Sanskritized entirely the orthography and spelling, which was accepted by all including the Missionaries themselves in their later day literature. And thus, the solid plinth of the modern literary standard language was founded and accepted as the norm all over the state.

1.27 The Vocabulary. The largest percent of the Assamese words are *tadbhavas*, i.e., derived from Sanskrit through Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa stages, besides a fairly large number of *tatsama*, semi-*tatsama*, and *deśya* words. Assamese has been a borrowing language, and during its long history of evolution it had enriched its vocabulary by acquisition from all the non-Aryan languages and dialects spoken in and around Assam. Ever since the Middle Assamese period, it started borrowing, not very frequently though, from Hindi and other northern Indian languages; and the process of borrowing gained momentum with the conflict and contact of the Mughals and the Āhoms, when many words of Persian and Arabic origin entered through the Hindi language. Foreign words from the European languages, such as English, Portuguese, etc., began their journey even before the British made an entry into Assam. Many early borrowings have been assimilated and naturalized beyond recognition. But coming of the British opened the flood-gate of English words and expressions in the early part of the nineteenth century. Words used in the Courts are almost all foreign: English, Persian or Arabic. With spread of knowledge and contact with foreign countries, words from many foreign languages are almost daily creeping in and adding to the vitality of the language.

After independence, there has been a move for return to the native resources, with the raising of the status of the regional languages by making them the media of administration and higher education in the country. Consequently, administrative terms and technical terminologies have been coined anew as far as practicable. But, here again, we have to return to Sanskrit quite frequently for which Sanskrit words are having easy flow into the Assamese vocabulary.

1.30 Dialects and their variations

1.31 Dialectical regions. Banikanta Kakati (1962 : §§ 33-39) has divided all the dialects of Assamese into two broad groups, viz., Eastern Assamese and Western Assamese. According to him the Eastern Assamese dialect spoken in the area from Śadiyā down to Gauhati constitute a single homogeneous unit which 'hardly presents any notable points of difference from the spoken dialect of Sibsagar'. But a close scrutiny of the phonology and morphology of the dialect reveals that the Eastern Assamese of this vast area may also be divided into two dialects or dialect groups : the Eastern and the Central dialects. As such, the dialects of Assamese may be regrouped as the Western, the Eastern, and the Central or rather the Intermediate dialects. According to this regrouping, Eastern Assamese is spoken in the districts of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur shading off in the contiguous areas of Arunachala in the east and down to the eastern half of the districts of Darrang and Nowgong in the west. Western Assamese covers a fairly big area from a little east of Gauhati in the south and the western half of the Darrang district in the north, and down to the district of Goalpara in the west. Central or Intermediate Assamese occupies the area in between the two regions mentioned above, i.e., the whole area in the western half of the district of Nowgong, and extending a little east of Gauhati in the Kamrup district.

The Eastern and the Central dialects may be regarded as uniform to a certain extent in their respective areas, while Western Assamese is more heterogeneous in character with large regional variations in the east, west, north and south. There must have been, in early times as well, diverse dialects and dialect groups as at present. But even then, there seems to be only one dominant literary language prevailing over the whole area ; and that was the Western Assamese dialect, the sole medium of all ancient Assamese literature including the *burañjīs* written in the Āhom court. This was because the centre of all literary activities in early times was in the western part of the country ; and the writers were patronized by the kings and local potentates of that region. In the later period, the centre of literary activities moved, though, to eastern Assam in the Āhom period, the *burañjī* writers and all others accepted the existing model of the literary style of that time. And yet the language became different to a great extent because of

its more catholic treatment in a literature which was secular in nature and content (see also § 1.2611 above). The predominance of Western dialect over the prose style of the historical writings is evident in the nominal and verbal flections, pronominal and plural derivations and in the use of the definitives, and on a large percent of the vocables.

In the modern period the eastern Assamese dialect has, for some important historical reasons (see also § 1.2612 above), attained the status of standard literary language. Now, with spread of literacy and education in the Western Assam districts, forms of the Western Assamese dialects have also been creeping into the standard idiom during the last few decades.

1.32. Nature of dialectical variations. The two major dialect groups, the Eastern and the Western Assamese, are sharply differentiated in almost all the areas, viz., in phonology or pronunciation and intonation including speech tempo, in morphology or inflections and derivations, in morphophonemic changes, and in vocabulary. As a result, speakers of either group, at times, find it difficult to understand one another. The differences among the dialects of Western Assamese confine mainly to phonology, intonation specifically, and to vocabulary occasionally.

Central Assamese stands as an intermediate dialect with only a few features of its own. Besides these features which are discussed below, this dialect shares some of the characteristics either with the Western or with the Eastern dialect group. The following is a comparative study of only a few of the distinguishing features of the dialects.

1.3210 Phonological : stress. Eastern and Central Assamese have medial stress, whereas Western Assamese has a strong initial stress in the word. Owing to the influence of the Western Assamese dialect during recent times, the medial stress is optionally being shifted ; it falls either on the first or on the second syllable from the left, and never beyond.

The strong initial stress in the Western dialect generally shortens the words, the medial syllables being slurred over owing to want of stress. In the other two dialects words are not shortened in such a remarkable way : every syllable being distinctly articulated in shorter words up to three syllables. In words of more

than three syllables slur over in articulation is noticed in these dialects also. Generally the nucleus of the syllable immediately following the stressed one is attenuated in timbre. E.g.,

Eastern (dialect) ...	Central ...	Western ...	gloss
komora	kumura	kumra	'pumpkin'
kɔribɒ	kɔribɔu	kɔrbo	'(he/she) will do'
bɒrali	bɒrali	bɒlli/balli	'a kind of fish'
barɦɒui	baɦɒni	baɦnui	'broom', etc.

In words of more than three syllables, the third syllable is very short ; e.g., mɒɦapurux 'great man', ɒxɒntuxiẏa 'discontented', phukɒnɒniẏe 'Mrs. Phookan (Nom.)', etc.

Simple vowels. There appears to be a predominance of high vowels in Western (and very often in Central also) Assamese as opposed to higher-mid, and also of low vowels to the lower-mid vowels of Eastern Assamese dialects ; e.g.,

Eastern ...	Central ...	Western ...	gloss
kapor	kapɒr/kapur	kapɒr	'cloth'
bɦok	bɦɒkh/bɦuk	bɦɒkh/bɦukh	'hunger'
lon	lun	lun/nun	'salt',
nemu	nemu	nimu	'lemon' etc.

Another important feature is that Eastern and Central Assamese have lower-mid front /ɛ/ in place of Western Assamese higher-low front /æ/, as 'a' in Southern British English word 'bank'. Moreover, there is no phonemic contrast between / ɒ / and / ɔ / in Western Assamese ; that means, this dialect has a seven-vowel system in place of the eight-vowel system of the other two dialects.

Diphthongs. In all the dialects diphthongs are very common, but their quality and distribution are different ; in Eastern and Central dialects they are generally falling, whereas the Western dialects have both the falling and the rising ones. Because of the strong stress in the initial syllables, the high vowels / i u / and / o / of the second syllables of Eastern and Central Assamese words are transposed to the first syllables to form diphthongs in the Western dialects ; e.g., lathuwa 'wicked one' and katiẏa 'one born in the mouth of *'kāti'* of Eastern and Central dialects are respectively lautha and kaita in Western dialects.

The final diphthong / ɔu / is common and prominently articulated in Eastern and Central Assamese. The diphthong / ɔi / has a tendency to become / ɔ / medially and / e / or / ey / finally in certain forms in Eastern Assamese. But in the Western dialects the final / ɔu / and / ɔi / either become monophthongs / o / and / e /, or change in quality and become / ow / and / ey / respectively, being combined with weak glides after them.

Triphthongization, a very common feature of Western Assamese is entirely absent from the other two dialects ; e.g., kewɔliya 'Vaishnavite devotee', and khawɔriya 'voracious eater' of Eastern and Central dialects are keuila or keula, and khauira respectively in Western Assamese.

Consonants. In the consonant system the most important feature of Western Assamese is the considerable palatalization of all oral consonants before the vowels / i æ / and before / y / in clusters. The velar and alveolar stops are palatalized more than the rest. In the other two dialects / s z / are only palatalized in clusters with a following / y /.

Another contrasting feature of Eastern and Central Assamese with the Western dialects is the deaspiration of medial aspirated consonants when they are preceded by another aspirate or by the spirants / s x ɦ / and also occasionally by / z /. Western Assamese always retain the aspirates of the earlier stage of the language in like environments. The occurrence of two aspirates in the neighbouring syllables in *tadbhava* words in Eastern and Central dialects is extremely rare. Take, for example, the following :

East. and Cent. ...	Western	gloss
sɔku	sɔkhu (<*cakṣu-*)	'eye'
ɦati	ɦathi (<*hasti-*)	'elephant'
xitau	xithau (<*śirasthāna*)	'head (of a bed)'
gɦagɔri	gɦagɦri	'pitcher', etc.

Conjunct consonants in *tadbhava* words are rare in the Eastern and the Central dialects ; but Western Assamese has predominance of conjuncts medially owing to the strong initial stress system.

Assimilation of consonants, specially of final / r / with initial unaspirated stops in word boundaries is common in the Western

dialects, but rare in the other two. This type of assimilation is also not uncommon medially in the same word in that dialect; e.g., tar dɒre 'like him' is taddɒre, and bɒrali 'a kind of fish' is balli or bɒlli in Western Assamese.

The syllable structure (C)VCe(C)i (where C represents any consonant and V represents any vowel except / e ɛ /), an extremely common feature in Western Assamese is not favoured in the other two dialects.

The intonation pattern of all the three dialect groups are different. The speech tempo which is very fast and forceful in the Western dialects is rather very slow in Eastern Assamese, and medium in the Central one.

1.3211 Morphological. There are quite a few differences in nominal and verbal inflections, in pronominal and plural derivations, as also in the choice of the definitives and numeratives among the three dialect groups.

In Eastern Assamese the Accusative and the Dative case forms of nominal declensions are -ɒk (-k after vowel) and -ɒlɔi (-lɔi after vowel) respectively; in the other two dialects -ɒk (-k after vowel) only is used to express both the cases. Sometimes Central and Western dialects use the post-positions lagi and lɔgi respectively to indicate the Dative.

The Instrumental case form in Central Assamese is -ɒre (-re after vowel) in place of -ere (-re after vowel) of the Eastern dialect. The post-position xɔite/xɔte 'with, by' that goes after -ere in Eastern Assamese is xɔti in this dialect; e.g., ramɒre xɔti or ramɒr xɔti 'with Rāma', hatɒre xɔti 'with or by the hands', mukhɒre xɔti 'by the mouth', etc.

In verbal conjugation, the Third Personal ending is different in all the three dialect groups in different tenses and moods. In the Future tense, it is zero (after the future tense affix -ibɒ) in the Eastern, -ɔu in the Central and -o or -u in the Western dialects; e.g.,

East.	Cent.	West.	gloss
kɔribɒ	kɔribɔu	kɔrbo/kɔrbu	'(he/she) will do'
khabɒ	khabɔu	khabo/khabu	'(he/she) will eat'
nibɒ	nibɔu	nibo/nibu	'(he/she) will take', etc.

The Third Personal ending added after the -il- past is -e in the Eastern, -a in the Central, and -a/-ak in the Western dialects ; e.g.,

East.	Cent.	West.	gloss
kɔrile	kɔrila	kɔrilak/kɔillak	'(he/she) did',
khale	khala	khala/khalak	'(he/she) ate',
nile	nila	nila/nilak	'(he/she) took', etc.

The same ending in the Progressive is -e in the Eastern, -ei in the Central and -i in the Western dialects. In the Present tense also the Central Assamese has -ei, whereas the other two dialects have -e ; e.g.,

East.	Cent.	West.	gloss
kɔrise	kɔrisei	kɔrisi	'(he/she) is doing',
khaise	khasei	khaisi	'(he/she) is eating',
kɒre	kɒrei	kɒre	'(he/she) does',
pɒɦe	pɒɦei	pɒɦre	'(he/she) reads', etc.

There are differences in the First Personal ending, the Progressive affix and the verbal post-positions in all the dialects.

In plural derivation, Eastern Assamese has the forms -bor, -bilak and -ɦɒ̃t, Central Assamese adds one more affix to the list, viz., -gela, and Western Assamese has the forms -gila, -gilan, -gilak, etc.

The pronominal derivatives of time and place are same for the Eastern and the Central Assamese dialects, but different for the Western dialects ; for example, kɔt 'where', zɔt 'where (relative)', tɔt 'there' and ɔt 'here' are respectively kɒɦẽ/kɒɦãi, zɒɦẽ/ zɒɦãi, xɒɦẽ/xɒɦãi and ɒɦẽ/ɒɦãi in Western Assamese. Likewise, ketiya 'when', zetiya 'when (relative)', tetiya 'then' and etiya 'now' are respectively kethen, zethen, tethen and ethen in Western Assamese.

There are some morphophonemic changes which are different for different dialects of the same Assamese language. (For details, see B. Kakati : 1962 : §§ 33-39, G.C.Goswami : 1971 : pp 35-43, U.N. Goswami : 1970 : § 25).

1.3212 Glossarial. The dialects of the two major groups, viz., Eastern and Western Assamese, except for a small percent of the total nominal vocabulary, use entirely different words and idiomatic expressions in common parlance. In this respect, the

Central dialect plays the real intermediate role, sharing equally with both the dialect groups ; e.g.,

E.As.	C.As.	W.As.	gloss
kuwa	nad/patiki	patki/laɦnda/indra	'well'
gamosa	gamosa/phali	muksa/phali	'towel'
ɛsari	lɔru	lɔru	'whip'
dɦɒpat	dɦɒpat	taŋkhu/	'tobacco'
ɛral	ɒral/dɒrɒx	dɒrɒx/dɒrɒkh	'tether', etc.

The above is a brief note on the salient features of differences among the dialects of Assamese discussed on regional basis. Social or class dialects which have yet to be examined properly, are not very clearly marked from the regional variations of speech forms. The standard literary language based on Eastern Assamese is a cultivated speech for those speaking the Central, more particularly, the Western Assamese dialect. The upper class and the highly educated people of the Central dialect area use the standard colloquial for all purposes, while those of the Western dialect areas use it in formal situations only. The speakers of the Western dialects, specially the highly educated and cultured ones are becoming more and more self assertive and trying to introduce Western idioms into the standard colloquial.

1.40 Literary trends and traditions

1.41 The folk tradition. Assamese life is vibrant with song, dance and music in every walk. In B. K. Barua's words an Assamese child dances before he learns to walk and sings before he picks up speech. There is not a single festival or event, social, religious or cultural, which does not reverberate with unsophisticated songs and music. These songs are intimately connected with the very life and being of the people themselves for which they sustain a deep human interest and draw a wide universal appeal.

So, the tradition of folk literature is very old, may be as old as the language itself, but very much like old wine in new bottles. This is because the theme remains all the same, while the garb of language goes on changing in different periods of evolution. *Dākar vacana* (aphorisms of Dāk), *ban gīt* (forest songs), *garakhīyār gīt* (songs of the cowherd), *bihu gīt* (songs connected with the three

age-old *bihu* festivals of the Assamese people) and many more songs abound Assamese oral literature. Besides these, there are the famous marriage songs and ballads based on folk-tales and historical events of different periods, even of the post-independence era.

The oral folk-songs, folk-tales and ballads can never be dispensed with in the history of Assamese literature, in that they exerted a considerable influence on the folk poets like Durgābar (of *Gīti Rāmāyaṇa* fame), Mankar (writer of *Manasā kāvya*), Pītāmbar (famous for *Ushā pariṇaya*), and many others of early and middle Assamese periods. This influence was marked in all literary works in the choice of themes, in the use of elements of poetic embellishments, in setting the rhyme, rhythm and tune, as also in depicting Assamese life and society in true colour. Their impact was so great, even Mādhava Kandalī (of the earliest *Rāmāyaṇa* fame) of the fourteenth century and the Vaishnavite saint poet Saṅkaradeva of later century could not escape from it. Not that they could influence the early writers only. The folk tradition was regenerated, as it were, in the hands of the Romantic poets of modern times, like L. N. Bezbarua, C. K. Agarwala and others who composed literary ballads quite in tune with the oral ones. Jyotiprasad Agarwala, in his, drama, recreated folk-songs into excellent literary beauty. Further, the oral folk-tales influenced many of Bezbarua's stories which are neither folk-tales nor short-stories proper.

1.42 Distinctive periods. History of Assamese literature may be divided into three distinctive periods, such as, (i) Early Assamese literature from the beginning up to the end of the sixteenth century; (ii) Middle Assamese literature from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century; and (iii) Modern Assamese literature from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the modern times.

1.4210 Early Assamese literature. Assamese literature begins in the later part of the thirteenth century A.D. From fourteenth century onwards there has been a continuous stream of literature produced in abundance. Literature of this period was mainly translations and adaptations from the epics and *purāṇas* done by the court poets of kings and local potentates of different principalites extending from Koch Behar, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri in North Bengal to Nowgong in middle Assam. All literature written up to the advent of Śaṅkaradeva and his neo-Vaishnavism in the

later part of the fifteenth century, was primarily secular in nature and content, in that the poets composed only for satisfaction of their patrons and delight of the common people. This was expressly stated by Mādhava Kandalī, the greatest 'unerring predecessor' of Śaṅkaradeva in his translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as follows :

kavisava nibandhaya loka vyavahāre ।
kato nija kato lambhā kathā anusāre ॥
daivavāṇī nohe iṭo laukikahe kathā ।
eteke ihāra doṣa nalaibā sarvathā ॥

('Poets write according to folk design, sometimes by lengthening the original, sometimes by adding of his own ; it is not a divine message but a folk theme. So, please do not find fault with it everywhere.')

Because of this, all such works were narrative in detail mostly on battle themes picked up from the two great epics and *purāṇas*. The language was simple with full of popular similies and metaphors. The poets used various metres, such as *pada*, *dulari* and *chabi* to suit the occasion.

The first known Assamese poet was Hema Sarasvatī, a court poet of king Durlabha Nārāyaṇa of Kāmatā maṇḍala in the later part of the thirteenth century, who wrote two small poems, viz., the *Prahrāda carita* and *Hara-Gaurī saṁbāda*. And the greatest and the most considerable poet of this period was Mādhava Kandalī who was patronized by a Kāchārī king Mahāmānikya of the fourteenth century. He translated the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* ; but only five cantos are available at present, the first and the last cantos being supplemented respectively by Mādhavadeva and Śaṅkaradeva. Kandalī yielded a mature style in different metres and set an ideal for rendering Sanskrit classics into Assamese. Kandalī's *Rāmāyaṇa* has been regarded as the earliest *Rāmāyaṇa* written in northern Indian vernaculars.

The second half of the early Assamese period of literature was almost entirely religious in theme and tone. Śaṅkaradeva, the greatest religious and social reformer created a tremendous upheaval by introducing neo-Vaishnavism and became the central pivot around which revolved all literary activities for well over three quarters of a century. The *Sattra*, i.e. the religious institutions,

became so powerful as to overshadow royal patronage, a distinctive feature of all earlier literature. This means, the literary venue moved from the royal courts to the *Sattras*.

Literature was produced in larger quantities than ever before, which consisted of translations in entirety of the two great epics, the *bhāgavata purāṇa*, the *Harivaṁśa* and all texts relating to Vaishnavism and the *bhakti* movement. The great enthusiasm in rendering the scriptures is well expressed by a poet himself as follows :

śloka Saṅskrite āmi likhibāka bhāla jāni
tathāpi karibo padabandha ।
strī-śūdra ādi jata jānoka śāstrara tattva
śravaṇata milaya ānanda ॥

('I am quite capable of composing verses in the Sanskrit language; yet I chose to compose in *pada* metre, i.e., in the vernacular, so that women and *śūdras* and all others may understand the deep significance of the religious scriptures, and thus derive happiness by listening to them.')

This period saw several new forms and styles of Assamese writing; and the credit for them all goes to Śaṅkaradeva. Śaṅkaradeva introduced the one-act plays called *Aṅkīyā nāṭa*. The beginning of the *Aṅkiyā nāṭa* was made by a drama called the *Cihna yātrā* performed with the help of a huge stage-scene depicting Mathurā and Bṛindāvana, which was painted by the genius Saṅkaradeva himself. Then again, Śaṅkaradeva it was who first composed *Bargīta* the song celestial considered as the classical music of Assam. He introduced the brajabuli style along with a rhythmic prose in the *Aṅkīyā nāṭa* (§ 1.2610). Besides the verse translation of the entire *Mahābhārata*, many independent *kāvyas* were written by drawing upon themes specially from the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*. These were the *badha-kāvyas* that depicted the killing of the demons. These were didactic in nature with an undertone of *bhaktivāda* and catered to the needs of the common man. Thus, in B. Kakati's words (1950 : p. 20), the Vaishnavite literature was the mental pabulum of the Assamese people catering to the spiritual and social needs, and as such, it was all comprehensive and com plete.

1.4211 Middle Assamese period of the literature may be aptly termed as the Āhom period, and is marked by a great departure from the earlier literature almost in all respects. The first and foremost thing to be noted is that the primary centre of literary activities moved from western and middle Assam to eastern Assam ; and that, royal patronage began to play an important role again in the literature. This is the period of decadence of Vaishnavite effluence and emergence in profusion of secular literature of all types under Āhom patronage. Literature lost depth and intensity, so characteristic of the earlier period, but gained vastness and expansion in literary form, content and style (§ 1.2611). In this period again, Assamese literature struck a new note, a novelty not only in Assamese, but in the whole gamut of Indian literature. Let me quote G.A.Grierson (1968 : p.396) : 'The Assamese are justly proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India is as a rule curiously deficient...The chain of historical events, for the last six hundred years, has been carefully preserved, and their authenticity can be relied upon. These historical works, or *burañjīs* as they are styled in Assam, are numerous and voluminous'.

The scope of Assamese early historical literature, viz., *burañjīs*, is amazingly wide and extensive indeed. Besides regular Āhom *burañjīs* in aoundance, there are histories of the Kāchārīs, the Chutiyās, the Jayanityās, the Koches (a wonderful metrical chronicle, quite a departure !), the Tripurīs and of the Mughals also ! The *Tripurā deśar lekhā*, i.e., history of Tripurā, written in 1724 A.D. by two Āhom emissaries sent to the royal court of Tripurā is the most prized possession in many counts ; it is an ambassadorial account of a foreign country, vividly describing the history, topography, resources and customs, by no means less attractive and politically less significant than any modern literature of this nature. The travel of the two emissaries from Rongpur, the Āhom capital in upper Assam, to Tripurā, a long and hazardous journey that took several months, is as vivid, vivacious and attractive as any modern travelogue. Modern travel literature did not evolve from early literature (there are wonderfully vivid travel accounts in the *Kathāguru carita* of the seventeenth century), but the similarity is simply amazing and striking.

1.4212 To come to the Modern period of Assamese literature

is to cross over a big gulf and to set foot in a new land. Modern Assamese literature snapped all currents of early trends and traditions of developments. Literature began in a tame note with the Christian writings in the early part of the nineteenth century ; but, within a short period of hibernation as it were, suddenly it sprang up to imbibe western thoughts and ideas that swept the land. Assamese students studying at Calcutta united themselves together to publish the *Jonāki* (the fire-fly), and through it ushered in a new era. Lakshminath Bezbarua, Chandra Kumar Agarwala and Hemachandra Goswami were regarded as the trio besides Padmanath Gohaiñbarua, Gunabhiram Barua, Lambodar Bora, Satyanath Bora, Hemachandra Barua and a host of others of repute. All these people tried their best to found the back-ground and to create a tradition anew. So, they laid their hands on all forms of literature : tender lyrics of love and beauty, patriotic songs of verve and vigour, critical essays on social, religious and literary topics of current interest, novels in social and historical plots, dramas on social, historical and mythological themes, short literary epics, and short stories. They started publishing the *burañjis* and other early literature, as also collecting folk-songs and folk-tales. L.N.Bezbarua was the most successful and outstanding figure of this period, who forshook all conventionalism, absorbed and assimilated all the influences that were healthy and beneficial, moulded a highly flexible idiom all his own, and emerged as the second wizard of the language, the first one being Mādhava Kandalī of the fourteenth century A.D. (§ 1.2610). He had rightly been conferred upon the title of Sāhityarathī (charioteer of literature) and Rasarāja (king of literary *rasa*) in recognition of his glamorous and powerful sway that swept Modern Assamese literature even after his demise till mid-twentieth century.

Modern literature of the early part reflected a kind of Romantic revival, influenced sometimes directly by English literature, and sometimes by the literature of Bengal. But, from the second world war, changes in form, content and literary style started setting in as with the very change in the outlook of life itself. Realities of life with all its intricate problems and conflicts of the modern age, rarely touched upon in earlier literature, began to be enthusiastically portrayed not only in dramas, novels and short stories, but in lyrics as well. This involved in a great departure in the choice of themes and idioms as in rhyme and rhythm, and symbol and imagery

Poetry became the first casualty to be confined, as a result, to only a limited circle, the average reader being unable either to grasp the ideas conveyed, or to appreciate the intellectual conflict. But, gradually it has rehabilitated itself during the sixties and has been gaining popularity.

At present, except the critical essay which still limps behind for want of a limpid style, the novel and the short story are flourishing in a fairly high standard, and the writers are still keeping on experimenting in newer forms and techniques.

1.50 Linguistic studies on Assamese

1.51 Dr. Banikanta Kakati's *Assamese, Its Formation and Development* is an authentic work on the history and development of the Assamese language, this being the author's dissertation for the Ph.D. degree from the Calcutta University in 1935. It is worked on the lines of Dr. S. K. Chatterji's *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, 1926, and as suggested by the title of the book itself, deals with the historical aspect in detail and covers the descriptive aspect in only a few pages. Dr. Kakati, for the first time, established the identity of Assamese and discussed the sources of various forms. He has examined very carefully the possible non-Aryan influences responsible for some of the special characteristics of Assamese that are quite peculiar to the sister languages of the country.

Dr. Kakati did not carry out detailed field work for the analysis of the dialectical divergences ; he had only suggested in broad outline the dialectical areas showing their special characteristics. As a pioneering work Dr. Kakati's book had a few shortcomings, which, I have tried to remove in the Second Revised Edition (B. Kakati : 1962 ; Third Edition, 1972).

Kaliram Medhi's *Asamiyā Bhāṣātattva Aru Vyākaraṇa* (Gauhati, 1936), i.e., 'Assamese Philology and Grammar' is another very important work on the Assamese language. It is written in Assamese with a long Introduction in English dealing with, in brief, the origin of the language and the history of its literature. Shri Medhi, differing from Dr. Kakati, wants to assert that Assamese might have been derived from the Vedic dialects in a stream different from that of the other sister languages. The author, in support of his contention, draws out a long list of correspondences between Assamese and the Vedic dialects.

Devananda Bharali also worked on the *Asamiyā Bhāṣār Maulik Vicār* (First Edition, 1912, Second Edition, 1929 (?)) i.e., 'The search for the origin of the Assamese language', written in Assamese; and also on *A Study of Phonology and Vocabulary of the Assamese Language*, Jorhat, 1959, written in English. Shri Bharali's treatment is far from scientific and many of his conclusions do not appear to be convincing.

1.52 Perhaps the first essay on the Assamese language, besides a few reports on Assamese, prepared by the British administrative officers during the language controversy in Assam from 1836 through 1872, would be the *A few Remarks on the Assamese Language*, 1855 (a brief abstract was published in the Indian Antiquary in 1896) written by Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan (This has been referred to in the Typical Selections from Assamese Literature, Vol. I, p. lxvii, published by the Calcutta University). The author of this essay asserted that Assamese was not a *patois* of Bengali, but a sister language, and that it agreed more with the western languages like Hindi than with its immediate neighbour Bengali, an assertion corroborated by the later-day linguists like Dr. G. A. Grierson, Dr. Kakati and others.

1.53 The first grammar of Assamese was written by Mr. Robinson and published from Serampore in 1839 (a very rare book which is not at all available). The second grammar, *Grammatical Notes on the Assamese Language* by Rev. N. Brown, published in 1848 from the Mission Press at Sibsagar, is an original work. Rev. Brown, in his Introduction, tried to show that Assamese was a distinct language and not derived from Bengali. He also expressed the doubt that Assamese might be "formed by engrafting the Sanskrit upon some original native stalk now extinct": a remark that might have influenced Dr. B. Kakati to search for the non-Aryan elements in the language. He also pointed out the difference in pronunciation of the Sanskrit sibilants and the semi-vowel w (ৱ) in Assamese, and admired the beauty and softness of the Assamese language, which, in his own words, is "much superior to Bengali" (N. Brown : 1893, pp.vii-xi). In the treatment of the sounds of the letters Rev. Brown has done a philologist's work; the rest, of course, is of a matter-of-fact treatment.

Next to Rev. N. Brown, mention may be made of Hemachandra Barua and a few other Assamese people who wrote

grammars in Assamese, which are of little significance from linguistic point of view. Mr. G. F. Nicholl, M.A., Lord Almoner's Professor in the University of Oxford wrote a *Sketch of Assamese Grammar*, appended to his *Manual of the Bengali Language*, published in 1894. Professor Nicholl's grammar cannot claim any originality, it has largely corroborated Rev. Brown, and at places contains wrong information.

1.54 Rev. Bronson compiled the first Assamese dictionary, published in 1867, which was followed by Hemachandra Barua's *Hema-koṣa* (First Edition, 1900). Rev. Bronson's dictionary is very important not only for its being the first work of its kind in Assamese, but also for its recording for the first time the pure *tadbhava* words as spoken by the native speakers of the language in the mid-nineteenth century A.D. This dictionary will always remain a milestone in guiding the phonology of the major part of Assamese vocabulary.

1.55 To come to the mid-twentieth century, Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua is an important name after Dr. B. Kakati, who worked on socio-linguistic and cultural aspect of the people. His *Asamīyā Bhāṣā Aru Saṁskṛiti* (First Edition, 1957) is a distinct contribution to the field.

1.56 Success of Dr. B. Kakati and Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua lies in a tradition and inspiration for linguistic studies in Assam left by them for the younger generation. Many of their students have now been in active research on language and linguistic problems of this north-eastern part of the country. Dr. Upendra Nath Goswami has described an important subdialect of Western Assamese. His *Study on Kāmrūpī, A Dialect Of Assamese* (First Edition, 1970) is a notable contribution in the line. Dr. Golockchandra Goswami has published *An Introduction To Assamese Phonology* (First Edition, 1966) which, for the first time, presents an elaborate analysis of the phonetics and phonemics of the standard Assamese language. The need for reform and rationalization of the Assamese orthography has been dealt with and lines of improvement suggested in Dr. G. C. Goswami's another book, *Asamīyā Bhāṣār Ākhar-Jōṭani* (First Edition, 1972). His *Asamīyā Golok-Vyākaraṇa*

(i.e. Assamese grammar, First Edition, 1972, Third Edition, 1974) marks a distinct departure in Assamese grammar, it being for the first time written in accordance with modern linguistic principles. Dr. Deviprasanna Pattanayaka's *A Controlled Historical Reconstruction Of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali And Hindi* (First Edition, 1966), although too sketchy and weak because of its extremely limited material, is also another noteworthy contribution to the field of linguistic research. Dr. Satyendra Narayan Goswami's *Historical Grammar of Assamese*, a doctoral dissertation, unpublished, should be of interest for the diachronic analysis of the Assamese language.

For further discussions, see G. C. Goswami : 1953, 1975 ; and D. P. Pattanayaka : 1969.

1.60 Scope of the present investigation.

1.61 This is the first systematic description of the Standard Assamese dialect based on principles of modern descriptive linguistics. The dialect under investigation is the formal and cultivated speech, and used as the Standard literary style for whole of the state. There is only a little difference, unlike many other languages, between the written and the spoken form of this dialect in upper Assam.

The scope is limited to the phonology and morphology of the dialect, with only an approach to syntax that itself a vast field for an independent dissertation. In phonology, the segmental features have been worked out in considerable detail with an outline of stress, terminal junctures and intonation patterns for which much more detail have yet to be worked out. The morphology has been completed as far as possible.

1.62 There are a good many dialects and subdialects in Assamese with a great deal of variations among themselves ; but no attempt has been made to present an overall pattern or a common-core system. All discussions, methodological and theoretical, have been left out. What follows in the body of the text is a systematic description of the Standard Colloquial done according to the procedures laid down by modern American linguists.

1.63 For collection of the data for the analysis, I have employed myself, a native speaker, as an informant. Born in Daipara Satra, a village of the Māyang mouzā in the western part of the district of Nowgong which, in the dialect map of Assamese, falls within the jurisdiction of the Central dialect group, and brought up from very early age in the family circle of speakers of the cultivated speech, I suspect myself as to my speech being a little influenced and mixed, and have, therefore, properly checked up the whole data with other speakers.

'HONOLOGY

PHONOLOGY

2.00 The Phonemes

2.10 There are twenty-three consonant and eight vowel phonemes in the Standard Colloquial Assamese. The consonants may be grouped into two broad divisions : the stops and the continuants. For the stops there are contrasts in three points of articulation : the lips, the alveola and the velum ; and four-way contrasts in every point as to the presence or otherwise of voice and aspiration. Therefore, a stop may be voiced or voiceless, aspirated or unaspirated.

There are eleven continuants : two frictionless, viz. the semi-vowels / w j / ; four spirants / s z x ɦ / ; one lateral / l / ; one trill / r /, and three nasals / m n ŋ / which are stops as well as continuants both at once.[1]

2.11 The phonemes are presented in tabular form as follows :

(a) Consonants.

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal	Velar		Glottal
	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vd.
Unaspirated	p	b	t	d		k	g	
Aspirated	ph	bɦ	th	dɦ		kh	gɦ	
Spirants			s	z		x		ɦ
Nasals		m		n			ŋ	
Lateral				l				
Trill				r				
Frictionless continuants		w			j			

1. The nasals are stops as the air passage is orally stopped, and continuants as the air stream can continue unchecked through the nasal passage.

(b) Vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Higher-mid	e		o
Lower-mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	ɒ

(c) Prosodic features.

Nasalization /˜/.

Open juncture /+/.

Word stress : (i) Primary stress /ˈ/,

(ii) Secondary or weak stress, phonemically unmarked.

Utterance stress : (i) Sentence stress /ˈ/,

(ii) Emphatic stress /ˈˈ/.

Terminal junctures :

Phrase terminals : (i) Single bar /|/,

(ii) Hyphen /‗/.

Utterance terminals : (i) Falling /‖/,

(ii) Rising /?/,

(iii) Abrupt rising /ɔ/,

(iv) Holding /#/,

(v) Surprise /!/.

2.12 The Consonants.

2.1210 The following commutations establish the consonants.

2.1211 Initially with the environments /-at / and / -al / :

Phonemes... / -at /				/ -al /	
/p/	...	/pat/,	'leaf',	/pal/,	'herd, crowd',
/ph/	...	/phat/,	'crevice',	/phal/,	'side, to split',
/b/	...	/bat/,	'way, path',	/bal/,	'pubic hair',

/bɦ/	...	/bɦat/,	'rice',	/bɦal/,	'good, goodness',
/t/	...	/tat/,	'there',	/tal/,	'cymbal',
/th/	...	/thak/,	'steps',	/thal/,	'plate',
/d/	...	/dãt/,	'teeth',	/dal/,	'branch (of a tree)',
/dɦ/	...	/dɦak/,	'to cover',	/dɦal/,	'shield',
/k/	...	/kat/,	'to cut'	/kal/,	'time, death',
/kh/	...	/khat/,	'bedstead',	/khal/,	'canal',
/g/	...	/gat/,	'hole',	/gal/,	'cheek',
/gɦ/	...	/gɦat/,	'ferry ghat',	/gɦal/	'to rebuke',
/s/	...	/sat/,	'to cover',	/sal/,	'to sieve',
/z/	...	/zat/,	'caste',	/zal/,	'net',
/x/	...	/xat/,	'seven',	/xal/,	'a kind of fish',
/ɦ/	...	/ɦat/,	'hand',	/ɦal/,	'plough',
/m/	...	/mat/,	'voice',	/mal/,	'luggage, thing',
/n/	...	/nat/,	'drama',	/nal/,	'handle',
/r/	...	/rakh/,	'to keep',	/ruti/,	'bread',
/l/	...	/lakh/,	'1/10th of a million',	/luti/,	'side, opposite'.

The phonemes / ŋ w j / have no initial occurrences.

2.1212 Medial contrasts.

/p/	...	/ɛpal/,	'one herd',	/bipul/,	'many, abundant',
/ph/	...	/ɛphal/,	'one side',	/aphiŋ/,	'opium',
/b/	...	/ɛbar/,	'once',	/bibaɦ/,	'marriage',
/bɦ/	...	/ɛbɦar/,	'a load carried on the shoulder',	/abɦa/,	'light',
/t/	...	/ɛta/,	'one',	/bitopɒu/,	'beautiful',
/th/	...	/ɛtha/,	'glue',	/muthi/,	'handful, fist',

/d/	...	/ada/,	'ginger',	/adɔrua/,	'sulky',
/dɦ/	...	/adɦa/,	'half',	/adɦɔrua/,	'half done',
/k/	...	/akɒr/,	'mine',	/xiki/,	'a quarter (of a rupee)',
/kh/	...	/akhɒr/,	'letter',	/xɔkhi/,	'friend',
/g/	...	/agɒr/,	'former',	/mɒgɒnia/,	'beggar',
/gɦ/	...	/bagɦɒr/,	'of tiger',	/bigɦini/,	'danger',
/s/	...	/asar/,	'manners,'	/bisɒni/,	'fan',
/z/	...	/azar/,	'ailment',	/bizanu/,	'germ',
/x/	...	/axar/,	'third month of the Assamese year',	/bixal/,	'huge',
/ɦ/	...	/aɦar/,	'food',	/biɦar/,	'pleasure trip',
/m/	...	/amar/,	'our',	/kɒma/,	'to lessen',
/n/	..	/anɒr/,	'of others',	/kɒna/,	'blind',
/ŋ/	...	/ɛŋar/,	'charcoal',	/koŋa/,	'deformity of the hand',
/r/	...	/aru/,	'and, more',	/biri/,	'*Biḍi*',
/l/	...	/alu/,	'potato',	/bili/,	'delivery (of letters)'.

2.20 Distribution of the Consonants.

2.21 Initially all consonants except / ŋ w j / occur before vowels; and / p t k b d g bɦ dɦ gɦ kh m n s z ɦ / occur before consonants.

2.22 All consonants save / w j / occur medially and finally after vowels.

2.23 The phonemes / p t d dɦ s z ɦ / occur finally after consonants which are sonorants.

2.24 The aspirated stops are not very frequent finally : the voiceless are comparatively less frequent than the voiced ones.

All aspirated stops, finally, are very lenis. There is a tendency to spirantize, in some of the dialects, all except / dɦ gɦ / into their homoorganic spirants, viz., / ph th kh bɦ / have final allophones [Φ θ x β] respectively.

2.25 Two aspirates in immediately neighbouring syllables in a word with or without intervening V or VC (where V represents a vowel or vowel cluster, and C represents a consonant or consonant cluster), are extremely rare in the Standard Colloquial.

2.30 Allophones of the consonants.

2.31 Environments responsible for allophonic variations are as follows :

I When followed by a nasal in a cluster. The unaspirated stops have nasal release in this environment.

II When preceded by a vowel and followed by / j /. All consonants except / ŋ w x ɦ / have half long allophones ; in case of the aspirates the stop element is slightly long.

III A When preceded by a vowel and followed by / r / ; and,

III B When preceded by / r / and followed by a vowel. In both these environments consonants occur in half long allophones in free variation with those without length. All alveolar consonants except / s z / are slightly retroflex in environment III B.

IV As a first member of a cluster following a stressed vowel. All consonants are slightly long, less than that in environments II and III mentioned above.

V Initial occurrences, when preceded by any juncture and followed by vowels. The voiced aspirates have slightly glottalized allophones which freely vary with allophones without glottalization.

Initially all consonants are tense. The consonants / z ɦ r l / start voiceless and become fully voiced immediately.

VI Final occurrences, i.e., when followed by any juncture. Consonants are long in varying degrees before the junctures : the additional length may be equal to the normal length of a consonant before / – /, and still longer before the terminal junctures. The continuants are longer than the stops if they are unreleased. The / z ɦ / and / r l / end voiceless.

VII Intervocally, the aspirated stops are more lenis than the unaspirated ones.

VIII All consonants have lip rounding when they are immediately followed by the higher back vowels / o u / ; lip rounding being a little more prominent when flanked by / o u / intervocally. The spirants / s z x ɦ / have comparatively more lip rounding than other consonants. Consonants may be a little fronted or back according as they occur in the neighbourhood of front or back vowels.

2.32 Allophones, their phonetic values and distribution.

2.3210 The bilabial stops.

2.3211 / p / : [$\underset{\wedge}{p}$ p $\underset{\vee}{p}$ $p^{\flat}$ ~ $p^{\flat}$ $\tilde{p}$]

[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$] : Bilabial voiceless plosive with strong plosion, tense; occurs in environment V before the vowels / i e ɛ a u /, e.g.,

[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]ithi,	/pithi/,	'back',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]in,	/pin/,	'pin',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]etu,	/petu/,	'intestines',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]eɦi,	/peɦi/,	'father's younger sister',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]ɛt,	/pɛt/,	'belly',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]ɛra,	/pɛra/,	'box',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]at,	/pat/,	'leaf',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]aguri,	/paguri/,	'turban',
[$\underset{\wedge}{p}$]ub,	/pub/,	'east',
[p]uŋ,	/puŋ/,	'mine, spring', etc.

[p] : Slightly less tense than [$\underset{\wedge}{p}$], occurs before / ɒ ɔ o / in environment V, and intervocally in (C) VCVC ; e.g.,

[p]ɒthali,	/pɒthali/,	'width',
[p]ɒtɒu,	/pɒtɒu/,	'downfall',
[p]ɔtu,	/pɔtu/,	'expert, skilled',
[p]ou,	/pou/,	'straight, upright',

[p]ok, /pok/, 'insect',

[p]oɦɒr, /poɦɒr/, 'light',

bi[p]ak, /bipak/, 'misfortune',

ba[p]ɛk, /bapɛk/, 'father, his father',

ɛ[p]ak, /ɛpak/, 'one turning',

ku[p]it, /kupit/, 'enraged, angry',

pa[p]ik, /papik/, 'the sinner (Acc.)', etc.

[$\underset{v}{p}$] : Lax, occurs intervocally elsewhere ; e.g.,

sɛ[$\underset{v}{p}$]ɛta, /sɛpɛta/, 'flat and thin',

si[$\underset{v}{p}$]aɦi, /sipaɦi/, 'soldier',

za[$\underset{v}{p}$]ani, /zapani/, 'Japanese',

a[$\underset{v}{p}$]uni, /apuni/, 'you (very respectful)',

ba[$\underset{v}{p}$]eki, /bapeki/, 'fatherhood',

bito[$\underset{v}{p}$]ɒn, /bitopɒn/, 'beautiful',

ɦito[$\underset{v}{p}$]ɒdex, /ɦitopɒdex/, 'advice, good counsel',

to[$\underset{v}{p}$]ɒni, /topɒni/, 'sleep',

dutɔrɔ[$\underset{v}{p}$]ia, /dutɔrɔpia/, 'two-fold',

tɒtha[$\underset{v}{p}$]ito, /tɒthapito/, 'yet, even then', etc.

[p'~p$^{\circ}$] : Unreleased, it freely varies with released [p$^{\circ}$] ; long when unreleased, slightly tense ; occurs finally, e.g.

di [p'~p$^{\circ}$], /dip/, 'island',

zɛ[p'~p$^{\circ}$], /zɛp/, 'pocket',

xɒnta [p'~p$^{\circ}$], /xɒntap/, 'grief, sorrow',

ala [p'~p$^{\circ}$], /alap/, 'talk, discussion',

tɒ [p'~p$^{\circ}$], /tɒp/, 'meditation',

prɒko [p'~p$^{\circ}$], /prɒkop/, 'might, power, strength',

to [p'~p$^{\flat}$], /top/, 'bait',

ru [p'~p$^{\flat}$], /rup/, 'beauty, shape', etc.

[p̃] : With nasal release ; occurs in environment I, e.g.

sɒ [p̃]nɒ, /sɒpnɒ/, 'dream'.

[p·] : Half long and slightly tense ; it freely varies with lax [p̬] without length ; occurs in environment III, e.g.

ɒr [p·~p̬]ɒn, /ɒrpɒn/, 'offering',

dɒr [p·~p̬]ɒ, /dɒrpɒ/, 'pride',

a [p·~p̬]ran, /apran/, 'utmost, to the last moment of life',

bi [p·~p̬]rɒ, /biprɒ/, 'Brahmin', etc.

[p'] : Unreleased, occurs before / p / in gemination, or before / t / in a cluster, e.g.

tha [p']pɒr, /thappɒr/, 'a slap on the head',

xɒ [p']taɦ, /xɒptaɦ/, 'week',

sɛ [p']tɛmbɒr, /sɛptɛmbɒr/, 'September', etc.

2.3212 / ph / : [p̰h ph ɸ].

[p̰h] : Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop with voiceless aspiration, tense ; occurs initially, e.g.

[p̰h]isa, /phisa/, 'fin',

[p̰h]itaɦi, /phitaɦi/, 'boast, pride',

[p̰h]ekur, /phekur/, 'to sob',

[p̰h]el, /phel/, 'failure (English)',

[p̰h]ɛ̃sa, /phɛ̃sa/, 'owl',

[p̰h]aki, /phaki/, 'lie,'

[p̰h]ɒl, /phɒl/ 'fruit',

[$\underset{\Lambda}{\text{ph}}$]ɔkir, /phɔkir/, 'Fakir',

[$\underset{\Lambda}{\text{ph}}$]ot, /phot/, 'spot, vermillion spot on the forehead',

[$\underset{\Lambda}{\text{ph}}$]ulɒni, /phulɒni/, 'garden',

[$\underset{\Lambda}{\text{ph}}$]utuki, /phutuki/, 'spotted', etc.

[ph] : Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop, lenis ; occurs intervocally ; e.g.

bi[ph]ɒl, /biphɒl/, 'failure, unsuccessful',

di[ph]u, /diphu/, 'Diphu, a place name in Mikir Hills',

a[ph]iŋ, /aphiŋ/, 'opium',

a[ph]ɔri, /aphɔri/, 'javelin',

a[ph]u, /aphu/, 'poppy',

kɔ[ph]i /kɔphi/, 'Coffee',

lɒ[ph]a, /lɒpha/, 'a kind of vegetable',

dɒ[ph]ɒla, /dɒphɒla/, 'The Daflas, a hill tribe in Assam',

u[ph]i, /uphi/, 'particles of skin on the head',

ɦɛ [ph]ɒni, /ɦɛphɒni/, 'panting, quick breathing',

ɛ[ph]al, /ɛphal/, 'one side, one half', etc.

[ɸ] : Bilabial voiceless fricative, almost frictionless, occurs finally or as a coda. After /a e ɛ ɒ / it freely varies with the affricate [pɸ] which is very lenis ; e.g.

la[ɸ~pɸ], /laph/, 'a jump',

sa[ɸ~pɸ], /saph/, 'clean, clear',

ɦa[ɸ~pɸ], /ɦaph/, 'half (Eng.)',

ma[ɸ~pɸ], /maph/, 'remission, excuse',

alɛ[ɸ~pɸ], /alɛph/, 'inverted comma',

kɒ[ɸ~pɸ], /kɒph/, 'phlem',

bɒrɒ[ɸ~pɸ], /bɒrɒph/, 'ice', also, 'snow',

re[ɸ~pɸ], /reph/, 'name of the letter r when it occurs as the first member in a cluster',

zira [ɸ~pɸ], /ziraph/, 'Giraffe',

a[ɸ]ganisthan, /aphganisthan/, 'Afganistan', etc.

2.3213 / b / : [ˈb b'~bˀ b' bˑ b].

[ˈb] : Voiced bilabial plosive with strong plosion and very slight glottal constriction, tense ; occurs initially ; e.g.

[ˈb]iman, /biman/, 'aeroplane',

[ˈb]ilɒnia, /bilɒnia/, 'distributor',

[ˈb]eli, /beli/, the sun',

[ˈb]enu, /benu/, 'flute',

[ˈb]ɛpar, /bɛpar/, 'trade, commerce',

[ˈb]atɔrua, /batɔrua/, 'traveller',

[ˈb]ɒrɒn, /bɒrɒn/, 'colour',

[ˈb]ɔlia, /bɔlia/, 'mad',

[ˈb]oka, /boka/, 'mud',

[ˈb]uniadi, /buniadi/, 'basic, fundamental',

[ˈb]uti, /buti/, 'blunt', etc.

[b'~bˀ] : Voiced bilabial stop unreleased and very slightly tense occurring in free variation with released [bˀ] ; occurs finally. After the vowels / o u /, the vocalic release is a little more marked ; e.g.

xɔsi [b'~bˀ], /xɔsib/, 'secretary', also, 'minister',

de [b'~bˀ], /deb/, 'God, lord, respected one',

xɛ [b'~bˀ], /xɛb/, 'saliva',

ba [b'~bˀ], /bab/, 'duty, responsibility',

ɒxɒmbɦɒ [b'~bˀ], /ɒxɒmbɦɒb/, 'impossible',

ko [b'~bˀ], /kob/, 'stroke, whipping, beating',

khu [b'~bˀ], /khub/, 'intense, too much', etc.

[b'] : Unreleased, occurs before another [b] in gemination or before / d / in a cluster ; e.g.

nɒ [b']bɔi, /nɒbbɔi/, 'ninety',

sɔ [b']bis, /sɔbbis/, 'twenty-four',

sa [b']bis, /sabbis/, 'twenty-six',

zɒ [b']bɒr, /zɒbbɒr/, 'rough, very difficult',

zɒ [b']dɒ, /zɒbdɒ/, 'confined, confinement',

xɒ [b']dɒ, /xɒbdɒ/, 'sound',

xɒta [b']di, /xɒtabdi/, 'century', etc.

[b·] : Half long, it freely varies with [b] which is lenis and without length ; occurs in environment III, and in II where it does not vary with [b] ; e.g.

pɒr [b·~b]ɒt, /pɒrbɒt/, 'mountain',

sɒr [b·~b]i, /sɒrbi/, 'fat',

gɒr [b·~b]itɒ, /gɒrbitɒ/, 'proud',

zɛ [b·~b]ra, /zɛbra/, 'zebra',

za[b·~b]raŋ, /zabraŋ/, 'a medicinal plant with pungent taste of the seeds',

ka[b·]jɒ, /kabjɒ/, '*kāvya*, a poetical work, poem',

di[b·]jɒ, /dibjɒ/, 'divine, heavenly', etc.

[b] : Voiced bilabial plosive with soft plosion, leni occurs intervocally and elsewhere ; e.g.

kini[b]i, /kinibi/, 'you (fam.) will buy',

ki[b]aki[b]i, /kibakibi/, 'something',

ke[b]ɔl, /kebɔl/, 'only',

ba[b]azi, /babazi/, 'a *Sādhu*',

rɒ[b]ɒr, /rɒbɒr/, 'rubber',

rɔ[b]i, /rɔbi/, 'the sun',

kɔ[b]ɒ, /kɔbɒ/, '(he) will say',

kono[b]a, /konoba/, 'somebody',

a[b]ur, /abur/, 'privacy, secrecy',

su[b]uri, /suburi/, 'a part of a village',

ɒ[b]a[b]ɒte /ɒbabɒte/, 'without rhyme or reason',

ɒnɒ[b]ɒrɒt, /ɒnɒbɒrɒt/, 'ceaselessly, continuously', etc.

2.3214 /bɦ/ ; [ʁ~bʁ b·ɦ bɦ bɦ]

[ʁ] ; Bilabial voiced fricative, almost frictionless ; it starts with voice and ends voiceless ; occasionally, it is preceded by a very lenis voiced bilabial stop in free variation ; occurs finally ; e.g.

la[ʁ~bʁ], /labɦ/, 'income, gain',

gɒrɒ[ʁ~bʁ], /gɒrɒbɦ/, 'pregnancy',

xɔurɒ[ʁ~bʁ] /xɔurɒbɦ/, 'fragrance',

nisprɒ[ʁ~bʁ], /nisprɒbɦ/, 'gloomy, lustreless',

xulɒ[ʁ~bʁ], /xulɒbɦ/, 'cheap, available,'

durlɒ[ʁ~bʁ], /durlɒbɦ/, 'rare, not easily available',

khjo[ʁ~bʁ], /khjobɦ/, 'resentment, anger',

lo[ʁ~bʁ], /lobɦ/, 'greed, covetousness', etc.

[b·ɦ] : Bilabial voiced aspirated stop with half length of the stop element, occurs in environment II. It freely varies with [bɦ] without length of the stop element in environment III ; e.g.

xɒ[b·ɦ]jɒ, /xɒbɦjɒ/, 'civilized, gentle',

lɒ[b·ɦ]jɒ, /lɒbɦjɒ/, 'obtainable, available',

ɒ[b·ɦ]jax, /ɒbɦjax/, 'practice, habit',

ɒ[b·ɦ]judɒe, /ɒbɦjudɒe/, 'appearance, rising',

gɒr[b·ɦ~bɦ]ɒ, /gɒrbɦɒ/, 'pregnancy, interior',

bi[b·ɦ~bɦ]rɒm, /bibɦrɒm/, 'illusion, error',

ɒ[b·ɦ~bɦ]rɒ, /ɒbɦrɒ/, 'mica', etc.

[b̪ʱ] : Bilabial voiced aspirated plosive, tense ; occurs initially ; e.g.

[b̪ʱ]itɒr, /b̪ʱitɒr/, interior, inside',

[b̪ʱ]ikhari. /b̪ʱikhari/, 'beggar',

[b̪ʱ]ed, /b̪ʱed/, 'difference',

[b̪ʱ]ɐl /b̪ʱɐl/, 'raft',

[b̪ʱ]at, /b̪ʱat/, 'rice',

[b̪ʱ]ɒdrɒ, /b̪ʱɒdrɒ/, 'gentle',

[b̪ʱ]ɔtua, /b̪ʱɔtua/, 'good for nothing (of dogs)',

[b̪ʱ]oɪmora, /b̪ʱomora/, 'black-bee',

[b̪ʱ]ubɒn, /b̪ʱubɒn/, 'the worlds, as the three worlds', etc.

[b̪ʱ] : Lenis, with the stop element which is very weak ; occurs intervocally and elsewhere ; e.g.

bi[b̪ʱ]a, /bib̪ʱa/, 'light', also 'a female name',

bi[b̪ʱ]or, /bib̪ʱor/, 'charmed, lost in thought',

bi[b̪ʱ]uti, /bib̪ʱuti/, 'wealth, property',

prɒ[b̪ʱ]at, /prɒb̪ʱat/, 'morning',

a[b̪ʱ]ax, /ab̪ʱax/, 'indication, an idea',

a[b̪ʱ]ɒrɒn, /ab̪ʱɒrɒn/, 'garment, ornament, clothing',

ga[b̪ʱ]ɔɪu, /gab̪ʱɔru/, 'grown up (girl)',

o[b̪ʱ]ɒtɒni, /ob̪ʱɒtɒni/, 'return',

ud[b̪ʱ]ɒb, /udb̪ʱɒb/, 'origin, rise',

ɒxɒm[b̪ʱ]ɒb, /ɒxɒmb̪ʱɒb/, 'impossible',

ud[b̪ʱ]rantɒ, /udb̪ʱrantɒ/, 'uncontrolable',

xɒm[b̪ʱ]rɒm, /xɒmb̪ʱrɒm/, 'prestige, regard, respect', etc.

2.3220 The Alveolar stops.

2.3221 / t /. It is an alveolar voiceless stop ; phonetic range of its allophones varies from post-dental to post-alveolar or slightly retroflex qualities.

/ t / : [t̪ː t̪ʾ t̪> t< t t tʾ t'].

[t̪ː] It is a voiceless plosive ; tense, slightly retroflex and half long ; freely varies with [t̪] which is also a little retroflex but without length ; occurs in environment III B ; e.g.

kir[t̪ː~t̪]i, /kirti/, 'fame',

kɒr[t̪ː~t̪]a, /kɒrta/, 'doer, actor, performer of an act',

bɒr[t̪ː~t̪]ɒman, /bɒrtɒman/, 'present, at present',

bɒr[t̪ː~t̪]ulakar, /bɒrtulakar/, 'round', etc.

[t̪ʾ] : Slightly retroflex voiceless stop with slight voiceless release ; occurs finally after / r / ; e.g.

sar[t̪ʾ], /sart/, 'shirt',

ar[t̪ʾ], /art/, 'art',

par[t̪ʾ], /part/, 'role of a character in a drama', etc.

It should be noted that these are all foreign (English) words in the language, the final cluster / rt / being rare in Assamese.

[t̪ː<] : Post-dental voiceless stop in production of which the tongue tip very slightly touches the root of the upper teeth ; half long. It occurs in environment II, and freely varies with [t<] which is also post-dental but without length, in environment III A ; e.g.

xɒ[t̪ː<]jɒ, /xɒtjɒ/, 'true, truth',

ɒma[t̪ː<]jɒ, /ɒmatjɒ/, 'minister',

ɒpɒ[t̪ː<]jɒ, /ɒpɒtjɒ/, 'issue, filial',

pu[t̪ː<~t<]rɒ, /putrɒ/, 'son',

pi[t·<~t<]ri, /pitri/, 'father',

sa[t·<~t<]ri, /satri/, 'girl student',

ma[t·<~t<]ra, /matra/, 'meaure, quantity',

xɔ[t·<~t<]ru, /xɔtru/, 'enemy', etc.

[t<] : Post-dental voiceless plosive, tense; it occurs utterance initially before / j r / in initial clusters, and before the vowels / i e ɛ /. Before / i /, it is slightly palatalized.

Medially it is a little lenis, occurs when preceded by a consonant and followed by / j r / in medial clusters, and intervocally in between the vowels / i e ɛ /; e.g.

[t<]ribɦubɒn, /tribɦubɒn/, 'the three worlds',

[t<]rɛta, /trɛta/, 'the *Tretā* age',

[t<]ran, /tran/, 'safty, rescue',

[t<]jag, /tjag/, 'abandonment, 'sacrifice',

[t<]jɒktɒ, /tjɒktɒ/, 'disgusted, annoyed',

ɒn[t<]jɒ, /ɒntjɒ/, 'final, end',

ɒn[t<]rɒ, /ɒntrɒ/, 'intestines',

tan[t<]rik, /tantrik/, 'a *tāntrik yogī*',

mɒn[t<]ri, /mɒntri/, 'minister',

xɒn[t<]rax, /xɒntrax/, 'fear, terror',

[t<]i[t<]iki, /titiki/, 'bitter, bitterness',

[t<]e[t<]eli, /teteli/, 'tamarind',

[t<]ɛlɛka, /tɛlɛka/, 'big eyed (person)',

mɛ[t<]ɛka, /mɛtɛka/, 'water hyacinth',

xe[t<]eli, /xeteli/, 'quilt', etc.

[t] : Alveolar; fronted initially before, and medially before and in between / a /; back initially before, and medially

before and in between the back vowels. It is tense initially, and lenis medially ; e.g.

[t]apɔli, /tapɔli/, 'patch work',

[t]amol, /tamol/, 'betel nut',

pa[t]al, /patal/, 'the underworld',

[t]ɒlɔtia, /[tɒlɔtia/, 'subordinate',

[t]ɔrun, /tɒrun/, 'young',

[t]u[t]ɔkia, /tutɔkia/, 'a backbiter',

[t]o[t]ora, /totora/, 'shrunk, contracted',

ba[t]ɔrua, /batɔrua/, 'traveller',

bɒ[t]ɒra, /bɒtɒra/, 'news',

ni[t]ɔu, /nitɔu/, 'always',

xɔ[t]uru, /xɔturu/, 'enemy, foe', etc.

[t̃] : With nasal release ; occurs before / n m / in clusters. It is alveolar, but fronted after the front, and back after the back vowels ; e.g.

a[t̃]ma, /atma/, 'soul',

a[t̃]mɒ, /atmɒ/, 'own, personal, ownself',

pɒ[t̃]ni, /pɒtni/ 'wife',

zɒ[t̃]nɒban, /zɒtnɒban/, 'careful',

a[t̃]mɒkɒtha, /atmɒkɒtha/, 'autobiography', etc.

[t'] : With voiceless release, occurs finally. It is post-dental after / i e ɛ / ; alveolar fronted before / a /, and alveolar back after the back vowels. The release is a little more after / i u /, before open juncture it is much less and freely varies with no release ; e.g.

mati[t'], /matit/, 'on the ground',

xɒsɔki[t'], /xɒsɔkit/, 'startled',

dɦe[tˀ], /dɦet/, 'an interjectional utterance',

pɛ[tˀ], /pɛt/, 'belly',

ɒma[tˀ], /ɒmat/, 'dumb, silent',

xɒkɒ[tˀ], /xɒkɒt/, 'fat',

tɔ[tˀ], /tɔt/, 'there',

ko[tˀ], /kot/, 'coat (Eng.)',

gupu[tˀ], /guput/, 'secret',

muku[tˀ], /mukut/, 'crown', etc.

[t'] : Alveolar voiceless stop, unreleased ; occurs before voiceless stops, both aspirates and non-aspirates ; e.g.

tɒ[t']pɒr, /tɒtpɒr/, 'up and doing, earnest',

pɒ[t']ta, /pɒtta/, 'license, whereabouts',

u[t']tɒr, /uttɒr/, 'reply, answer',

unmɒ[t']tɒ, /unmɒttɒ/, 'violent, uncontrollable',

u[t']phullɒ, /utphullɒ/, 'joyous, cheerful',

u[t']kɒt, /utkɒt/, 'severe',

u[t']thau, /utthau/, 'rise, uprising',

u[t']khat, /utkhat/, 'disorder', etc.

2.3222 / th / : [ṭʻh ṭh tʻh th $\underset{v}{\text{th}}$].

[ṭʻh] : Slightly retroflex voiceless aspirated plosive, half long and a little tense ; it freely varies with [ṭh] which is also a little retroflex, lenis and without length ; occurs in environment III B ; e.g.

ɒr[ṭʻh~ṭh]ɒ, /ɒrthɒ/, 'meaning',

par[ṭʻh~ṭh]ɒ, /parthɒ/, 'a name of Lord *Krishna*',

prar[ṭʻh~ṭh]ɒna, /prarthɒna/, 'prayer',

par[ṭʻh~ṭh]ibɒ, /parthibɒ/, 'worldly, earthly', etc.

[t·h] : Pre-alveolar voiceless aspirate, but occasionally the tongue tip, in its production, touches the root of the upper teeth ; half long and a little fortis. It occurs in environment II. It is without length, i.e. [th] initially before the front vowels, medially before / j / when preceded by another consonant, and intervocally after and in between the front vowels. Intervocally it is lenis, and before / i / slightly affricated as [t^{θ}] ; e.g.

pɒ[t·h]jɒ, /pɒthjɒ/, 'food for patients',

pa[t·h]jɒ, /pathjɒ/, lessons, reading material',

[t$^{\theta}$]ik, /thik/, 'right, just, O.K.',

[th]etuɔi, /thetuɔi/, 'shivering cold',

[th]ɛk, /thɛk/, 'narrow',

sas[th]jɒ, /sasthjɒ/, 'health',

/kɒu[th]jɒ, /kɒuthjɒ/, 'glottal, relating to the neck',

si[t$^{\theta}$]i, /sithi/, 'letter',

ze[t$^{\theta}$]i, /zethi/, 'lizard',

ɛ[th]a, /ɛtha/, 'glue', etc.

[th] : Alveolar, fortis in environment IV and lenis intervocally ; it occurs in between and after / a / and the back vewels : slightly affricated before / u / medially ; e.g.

[th]an, /than/, 'a sacred place',

[th]ɒr, /thɒr/, 'steady, still, fixed',

[th]ɔlua, /thɔlua/, 'native, local, of the land',

[th]ok, /thok/, 'a bunch (of fruit)',

[th]u, /thu/, 'spittle',

[th]utɔri, /thutɔri/, 'chin',

ka[th]am, /katham/, 'wooden frame-work',

a[th]ua, /athua/ 'mosquito net',

ɒ[th]ɒni, /ɒthɒni/, 'at that time, then',

kɒ[th]or, /kɒthor/, 'difficult',

ã[th]u, /ãthu/, 'knee', etc.

[$\underset{\wedge}{\text{th}}$] : The stop element is very lenis, followed by strong aspiration and sometimes affricated as [t^{θ}] also. It is alveolar, fronted after the front vowels and / a /, and back after the back vowels ; occurs finally ; e.g.

pi[$\underset{v}{\text{th}}$], /pith/, 'region, area, place',

zɛ[$\underset{v}{\text{th}}$], /zɛth/, 'Second month of the Assamese Calendar year',

ka[$\underset{v}{\text{th}}$], /kath/, 'wood',

kɒ[$\underset{v}{\text{th}}$], /kɒth/, 'mat',

ko[th], /koth/, 'fort, army fortification',

u[th], /uth/, 'to get up, rise up',

mu[th], /muth/, 'total', etc.

2.3223 /d/ : [ḍ· d· d 'd dᵊ d']

[ḍ·] : Back alveolar or a little retroflex voiced plosive, half long and fortis ; it freely varies with [ḍ] which is lenis and without length ; occurs in environment III B ; e.g.

pɒr[ḍ·~ḍ]a, /pɒrda/, 'curtain',

sɑr[ḍ·~ḍ]i, /sɒrdi/, 'influenza, cold',

ur[ḍ·~ḍ]u, /urdu/, 'Urdu', etc.

[$\underline{\text{d}}$·] : A pre-alveolar voiced stop, half long and slightly tense ; it occurs in environment II, and when followed by / w /. In environment III A it freely varies with [$\underline{\text{d}}$] without length, e.g.

a[$\underline{\text{d}}$·]jɒ, /adjɒ/, 'initial, first',

bi[$\underline{\text{d}}$·]ja, /bidja/, 'learning',

bi[d·] jut, /bidjut/, 'lightning',

pɒ[d·] jɒ, /pɒdjɒ/, 'poetry, verse',

ɦɔri[d·] war, /ɦɔridwar/, 'Hardwar',

bɦɒ[d· ~d] rɒ, /bɦɒdrɒ/, 'gentle, polite',

si[d·~d] rɒ, /sidrɒ/ 'fault, flaw',

bi[d·~d] rup, /bidrup/, 'mocking',

xubɦɒ[d·~d] ra, /xubɦɒdra/, '*Subhadrā*, a female name', etc.

[d]: Pre-alveolar voiced stop, occurs initially before / r/ ; and intervocally after and in between the front vowels and / a / ; e.g.

[d] ram, /dram/, 'drum, barrel',

[d] rɒbjɒ, /drɒbjɒ/, 'thing, object',

[d] ronɒ, /dronɒ/, '*Droṇāchāryya*',

si [d] ir, /sidir/, 'fault, flaw',

xi [d] ina, /xidina/, 'the other day',

bi [d] ex, /bidex/, 'foreign land ;

a [d] ex, /adex/, 'order',

a [d] a, /ada/, 'ginger',

ɛ [d] okhɒr, /ɛdokhɒr/, 'one piece',

ba [d] uli, /baduli/, 'bat',

e [d] uli, /eduli/, 'one basketful', etc.

[d] : An alveolar voiced plosive, lenis ; occurs intervocally in between and after the back vowels ; e.g.

pɔ [d] uli, /pɔduli/, 'gate',

pɔ [d] um, /pɔdum/, 'lotus',

apɔ [d] ia, /apɔdia/, 'ominous',

ɦu [d] u, /ɦudu/, 'screech owl', etc.

[ˈd] : An alveolar voiced plosive with slight glottal constriction ; occurs in environment V ; it is a little fronted before the front vowels ; e.g.

[ˈd] in, /din/, 'day',

[ˈd] ex, /dex/, 'country',

[ˈd] ax, /dax/, 'slave',

[ˈd] ɒɦ, /dɒɦ/, 'ten',

[ˈd] ɔl, /dɔl/, 'a pyramid-like high mound',

[ˈd] okan, /dokan/, 'shop',

[ˈd] ut, /dut/, 'messenger',

[ˈd] urdin, /durdin/, 'misfortune, bad days', etc.

[dᵊ] : Voiced alveolar stop with voiced release ; fronted after the front vowels ; occurs finally ; e.g.

i[dᵊ], /id/, '*Id* festival of the Muslims',

xɒmbɦe[dᵊ], /xɒmbɦed/, 'information, indication',

be[dᵊ], /bed/, 'the Vedas',

mɛ[dᵊ], /mɛd/, 'fat, limit',

prɒba[dᵊ], /prɒbad/, 'tradition',

mɒ[dᵊ], /mɒd/, 'liquor',

dɦo[dᵊ], /dɦod/, 'a lazy fellow',

prɒmo[dᵊ], /prɒmod/, 'enjoyment', also, a male name,

xu[dᵊ], /xud/, 'interest', etc.

[d'] : Voiced alveolar stop, unreleased ; occurs before / d / in gemination or as a first member of a cluster ; e.g.

a[d']da, /addɑ/, 'idle gossip',

u[d']dam, /uddam/, 'irresistible',

u[d']dɦar, /uddɦar/, 'rescue',

bu[d']dɦɒ, /buddɦɒ/, 'Lord *Buddha*',

bu[d']dɦiman, /buddɦiman/, 'clever', intelligent',

xi[d']dɦɒ, /xiddɦɒ/, 'cooked',

sra[d']dɦɒ, /sraddɦɒ/, '*Śrāddha* ceremony',

u[d']bɦrantɒ, /udbɦrantɒ/, 'uncontrollable',

u[d']gɦatɒn, /udgɦatɒn/, 'discovery', etc.

2.3224 / dɦ / : [ḍ·ɦ d·ɦ 'dɦ dɦ d̪ɦ].

[ḍ·ɦ] : Slightly retroflex voiced aspirated plosive, half long and a little fortis ; it freely varies with [ḍɦ] which is lenis and without length ; occurs in environment III A ; e.g.

ɒr[ḍ·ɦ~ḍɦ]ɒ, /ɒrdɦɒ/, 'half',

bɒr[ḍ·ɦ~ḍɦ]itɒ, /bɒrdɦitɒ/, 'increased, enlarged', etc.

[d·ɦ] A pre-alveolar voiced stop, half long and a little tense, occurs in environment II ; e.g.

a[d·ɦ] ja, /adɦja/, 'chapter, end',

xa [d·ɦ] jɒ, /xadɦjɒ/, 'capability',

ɒ [d·ɦ] japɒk, /ɒdɦjapɒk/, 'professor, teacher',

mɒ [d·ɦ] jɒm, /mɒdɦjɒm/, 'middle', etc.

['dɦ] : An alveolar voiced aspirated plosive with slight glottalization ; slightly fortis ; occurs in environment V. It is a little fronted before the front vowels and / a / and / j / ; e.g.

['dɦ] itiŋa, /dɦitiŋa/, 'an idle person',

['dɦ] er, /dɦer/, 'much, many, large quantity',

['dɦ] emali, /dɦemali/, 'play, game',

['dɦ] an, /dɦan/, 'paddy',

['dɦ] jan, /dɦjan/, 'meditation',

['dɦ] ɒrɒni, /dɦɒrɒni/, 'the earth', also, a male name,

['dɦ] ɔrua, /dɦɔrua/, 'borrower, indebted one',

['dɦ]ol, /dɦol/, 'drum',

['dɦ]umuɦa, /dɦumuɦa/, 'tempest, storm',

['dɦ]uti, /dɦuti/, 'pure, clean', also, the *dhuti* worn by man, etc.

[dɦ] : An alveolar aspirated stop, lenis; occurs intervocally and medially before / j / when it is preceded by another consonant. Medially, it is fronted after and in between the front vowels ; e.g.

bi [dɦ] i, /bidɦi/, 'rule, law',

bi [dɦ] uti, /bidɦuti,/ 'impure',

a [dɦ] ɔli, /adɦɔli/, 'half a rupee coin',

a [dɦ] unik, /adɦunik/, 'modern',

biu[dɦ] jɒ, /bindɦjɒ/, 'the *Vindhya* hills,'

xɒn[dɦ] ja, /xɒndɦja/, 'evening',

ɔ[dɦ]ikar, /ɔdɦikar/, 'ownership',

ɒ[dɦ]ogɔti, /ɒdɦogɔti/, 'downfall',

xo[dɦ]ɒn, /xodɦɒn/, 'purification',

bu[dɦ]iɒk, /budɦiɒk/, 'clever',

mu[dɦ]ɒs, /mudɦɒs/, 'dome, the top line of a house', etc.

[dɦ]: Alveolar voiced aspirate with a very lenis stop element. Aspiration starts voiced and ends voiceless ; after the front vowels a little fronted ; occurs finally ; e.g.

bibi[dɦ], /bibidɦ/, 'various, variety',

nixe[dɦ], /nixedɦ/, 'prohibition',

xa[dɦ], /xadɦ/, 'to wish, expect',

bɒ[dɦ], /bɒdɦ/, 'murder, killing, death',

prɒbo[dɦ], /prɒbodɦ/, 'consolation, good sense',

bu[dɦ], /budɦ/, 'Wedness (day)',

mu[dɦ], /mudɦ/, 'dome, top', etc.

2.3230 The Velar Stops.

2.3231 / k /. It is a velar voiceless consonant with a long range in point of articulation, varying from pre-velar through post-velar regions.

/ k / : [k· kʲ˂ k˂ k k˃ k k˟ k'].

[k·] : A pre-velar voiceless plosive, half long and slightly fortis ; occurs in environment II. It freely varies with [k] which is lenis and without length, in environment III[1]. It is mid-velar before / a / and a bit back before back vowels ; e.g.

ba[k·] jɒ, /bakjɒ/, 'speech, sentence',

ɒnɔi[k·]jɒ, /ɒnɔikjɒ/, 'disunity',

tar[k·~k]ik, /tarkik/, 'debator',

mar[k·~k]a, /marka/, 'seal, mark (Eng.) as in trade mark',

kɒr[k·~k]ɒx, /kɒrkɒx/, 'harsh, rude, rough',

bi[k·~k]rɒm, /bikrɒm/, 'velour, strength',

a[k·~k] rɒmɒn, /akrɒmɒn/, 'invasion',

a[k·~k]rox, /akrox/, 'greed, covetousness', etc.

[kʲ˂] : A pre-velar voiceless plosive with slight voiceless palatal friction ; occurs before / i / when it is not preceded by / u / in which case it is mid-velar [kʲ] ; a little fortis initially and lenis intervocally ; e.g.

[kʲ˂]i, /ki/, 'what',

[kʲ˂]irɒn' /kirɒn/, 'light',

[kʲ˂]itap, /kitap/, 'book',

xi[kʲ˂]im, /xikim/, '(I) shall learn',

mɛle[kʲ˂]i, /mɛleki/, 'talkative, councilor',

---

1. This variation in length appears to be due to variation in style and speech tempo. It is invariably long with emphatic stress and in citations, and without length elsewhere. This statement is true for all consonants with this type of allophones.

ba[kʔ<]i, /baki/, 'left over, remaining, rest',

si[kʔ>]itsa, /sikitsa/, 'medical treatment',

u[kʔ<]il, /ukil/, 'lawyer, advocate', etc.

[k<]: A velar voiceless plosive, fronted; occurs initially before and intervocally in between / e ɐ /. A little fortis initially and lenis intervocally; e.g.

[k<]etu, /ketu/, '*Ketu*, the planet',

[k<]ɐtaman, /kɐtaman/, 'a few, some (in number)',

lo [k<] e, /loke/, 'others (Nom.)',

sɐ[k<]e, /sɐke/, '(he) sieves',

ti[k<]endrɒ, /tikendrɒ/, 'a male name',

tɐ[k<]ɐla, /tɐkɐ̆la/, 'peon, messenger',

te [k<]eli, /tekeli/, 'earthen pot', etc.

[k]: Mid-velar voiceless plosive; occurs before and in between /a/s. Slightly fortis initially and lenis intervocally; e.g.

[k]ax, /kax/, 'side, edge, near',

[k]arɒn, /karɒn/, 'reason',

[k]azia, /kazia/, 'dispute, quarrel',

a[k]ar, /akar/, 'shape, form',

a[k]ax, /akax/, 'the sky', etc.

[k>]: Back-velar voiceless plosive; occurs before and in between the back vowels; slightly fortis initially and lenis intervocally; e.g.

[k>]ɒl /kɒl/, 'banana', also, 'machine',

[k>] ɔtu, /kɔtu/, 'bitter, harsh (words)',

[k>]omora, /komora/, 'pumkin, white gourd',

[k>]utum, /kutum/, 'near relative, friend',

bu[k$^{>}$]u, /buku/, 'breast',

sɔ[k$^{>}$]u, /sɔku/, 'eye',

mu[k$^{>}$]uta, /mukuta/, 'pearl',

so[k$^{>}$]ora, /sokora/, 'skin (of pulses etc.)',

a[k$^{>}$] ul, /akul/, 'helpless',

i[k$^{>}$]ul, /ikul/, 'this bank, this side',

sɛ̃[k$^{<}$]ur, /sɛ̃kur/, 'to run (as horse)', etc.

[k̃] : Velar voiceless stop with slight nasal release; occurs medially before / m / in a cluster ; e.g.

ru[k̃]mini, /rukmini/, '*Rukmiṇī*, wife of *Krishna*',

ru[k̃]mɒ, /rukmɒ/, '*Rukma*, brother of *Rukmiṇī*',

[k^{ɔ}] : With voiceless release, occurs finally. It is pre-velar after the front vowels, mid-velar after / a /, and back-velar after the back vowels. After / i / the release is of spirantal nature. Occasionally, [k^{ɔ}] freely varies with [k'] unreleased ; e.g.

barxi[k^{ɔ}], /barxik/, 'annual',

xɒmazi[k^{ɔ}], /xɒmazik/, 'dream',

bibe[k^{ɔ}], /bibek/, 'conscience',

mañɛ[k^{ɔ}], /mañɛk/, 'one month, about a month',

bipa[k^{ɔ}], /bipak/, 'misfortune',

gɒsɒ[k^{ɔ}], /gɒsɒk/, 'to trample over',

sɔ[k^{ɔ}], /sɔk/, 'juncture of four roads',

po[k^{ɔ}], /pok/, 'insect, worm',

su[k^{ɔ}], /suk/, 'corner', etc.

[k'] : Velar voiceless stop, unreleased ; occurs before / k / in gemination and before / t / in a cluster ; e.g.

mɒ[k']ka, /mɒkka/, 'Mecca, the birth place of Mohammed',

sɒ[k']kɒr, /sɒkkɒr/, 'round',

dɦa[k']ka, /dɦakka/, 'a bang, push',

axɒ[k']ti, /axɒkti/, 'affinity, attraction, attachment',

bɦɒ[k']tɒ, /bɦɒktɒ/, 'devotee',

bɒ[k']ta, /bɒkta/, 'orator, speaker, debator', etc.

2.3232 / kh / : [k·h kh$^{ç<}$ kh kh$_{v}$].

[k·h] : Velar voiceless aspirated stop with half length of the stop element, slightly fronted ; occurs in environment II. In environment IIIA it freely varies with [kh] which is without length ; e.g.

a[k·h] jan, /akhjan/, 'story, fable',

bi[k·h] jat, /bikhjat/, 'famous, renowned',

xu[k·h] jati, /xukhjati/, 'fame, renown',

mur[k·h~kh]ɒ /murkhɒ/, 'dullard, fool',

sɒr[k·h~kh] a, /sɒrkha/, 'spinning wheel', etc.

[kh] : Velar voiceless aspirate, fronted before / j / and the front vowels, mid-velar before / a / and back before the back vowels. Initially a little fortis and intervocally lenis. Before / i / it is almost like [kh$^{ç<}$], i.e. pre-velar aspirate immediately followed by a palatal voiceless spirant with a great deal of friction ; e.g.

[kh$^{ç<}$]ir, /khir/, 'thickened milk',

[kh$^{ç<}$] in, /khin/, 'ematiated, thin, weak',

[kh] etiɒk, /khetiɒk/, 'cultivator',

[kh]ɐlaru, /khɐlaru/, 'player, expert in sports',

[kh]aru, /kharu/, 'bangle, bracelet',

[kh] ɒrɒm, /khɒrɒm/, 'wooden sandal',

[kh]ɔri, /khɔri/, 'fuel (of wood or bamboo)',

[kh]olosa, /kholosa/, 'open, clear, loose, true',

[kh]ur, /khur/, 'razor, blade',

[kh]utura, /khutura/, 'a small piece',

ga[kh$^{\varsigma}$]ir, /gakhir/, 'milk',

mɛ[kh]ɛla, /mɛkhɛla/, 'lower girdle of an Assamese woman's dress',

la[kh]uti, /lakhuti/, 'stick',

a[kh]ara, /akhara/, 'rehearsal',

[kh]jati, /khjati/, 'fame',

[kh]jantɒ, /khjantɒ/, 'steady', etc.

[kh] : With strong voiceless aspirated release, lenis ; fronted and back after the front and the back vowels respectively ; occurs finally[1] ; e.g.

niri[kh], /nirikh/, 'rate, quantity, measure',

ɒlɛ[kh], /ɒlɛkh/, 'innumerable',

la[kh], /lakh/, 'one hundred thousand',

nɒ[kh], /nɒkh/, 'nail (of the finger)',

zo[kh], /zokh/, 'measure',

xu[kh], /xukh/, 'happiness', etc.

2.3233 / g / . It is a velar voiced stop and its phonetic range is almost the same as that of / k /.

/ g / : [g$^{\cdot}$ $^{\prime}$g g $\bar{g}$ g$^{\circ}$].

[g$^{\cdot}$] : Voiced velar stop, unaspirated, half long ; occurs in environment II. It freely varies with [g] without length in environment III ; is slightly fronted before / j / and the front vowels, and back before the back vowels ; e.g.

ɒ[g$^{\cdot}$] jɒ, /ɒgjɒ/, 'ignorant',

ɒ[g$^{\cdot}$] jan, /ɒgjan/, 'unwise, unconscious',

---

1. The final [kh] is invariably [x], i.e. voiceless velar spirant in the dialect of the fisherman community all over the state.

bi[g'] jɒ, /bigjɒ/, 'learned, wise',

bi[g'] jan, /bigjan/, 'science',

sɒr[g'~g] iɒ, /sɒrgiɒ/, 'dead, heavenly',

xɒr[g'~g]ɒ, /xɒrgɒ/, heaven,'

mar[g'~g]ɒ, /margɒ/, 'path, way',

a[g'~g]rɒɦ, /agrɒɦ/, 'eagerness',

bi[g'~g]rɒɦ, /bigrɒɦ/, 'idol', etc.

['g] : Voiced velar plosive with slight glottal constriction, fortis ; fronted before the front and back before the back vowels. It is slightly palatalized before / i / ; occurs initially ; e.g.

['g]it, /git/, 'song, music',

[g]erua, /gerua/, 'heel',

['g]ɐl, /gɐl/, 'to decompose',

['g]a, /ga/, 'body',

['g]ɒrɒm, /gɒrɒm/, 'hot',

['g]ɔti, /gɔti/, 'movement, fate, state',

['g]ota, /gota/, 'round, solid',

['g]uru, /guru/, 'preceptor, teacher, heavy',

['g]uli, /guli/, 'bullet, tablet',

['g]uput, /guput/, 'secret', etc.

[g] : Velar voiceless plosive with very lenis contact ; occurs intervocally and medially elsewhere. It is a little fronted or back before the front or the back vowels respectively ; e.g.

si[g]il, /sigil/, '(it) snapped, broken,

ba[g]isa, /bagisa/, 'garden',

bɐ[g]ere, /bɐgere/, 'speedily, fast',

bɒ[g]ɔli, /bɒgɔli/, 'white crane',

ni[g]ɒui, /nigɒui/, 'mouse',

zu[g]ini, /zugini/, 'nun, female beggar',

ɔzu[g]ut, /ɔzugut/, 'unjust',

xɒŋ[g]ja, /xɒŋgja/, 'consciousness, definition',

xɒŋ[g]ram, /xɒŋgram/, 'war, battle', etc.

[g̃] : Voiced velar stop with a little nasal release ; occurs before nasals in a cluster ; e.g.

lɒ[g̃]nɒ, /lɒgnɒ/, 'auspicious moment',

ba[g̃]mibɒr, /bagmibɒr/, 'famous orator', etc.

[g$^{\flat}$] : Voiced velar stop with voiced release, occurs finally ; fronted or back after the front or the back vowels respectively ; e.g.

si[g$^{\flat}$], /sig/, 'to be broken',

sɛ[g$^{\flat}$], /sɛg/, 'opportunity',

sa[g$^{\flat}$], /sag/, 'he-goat, lamb',

nilɒ[g$^{\flat}$], /nilɒg/, 'distant, separated',

xɒmbɦo[g$^{\flat}$], /xɒmbɦog/, 'enjoyment',

xɒɦɒzo[g$^{\flat}$], /xɒɦɒzog/, 'cooperation',

zu[g$^{\flat}$], /zug/, 'era, unit of twelve years', etc.

2.3234 / g·ɦ / : [g·ɦ ˈgɦ gɦ g̊ɦ g̃ɦ].

[g·ɦ] : Voiced velar aspirate with half length of the stop element which freely varies with that without length ; occurs in environment III ; e.g.

ɒr[g·ɦ~gɦ]ɒ, /ɒrgɦɒ/, 'offering, worship',

ɒr[g·ɦ~gɦ]a, /ɒrgɦa/, 'a small vessel used in worshipping',

bja[g·ɦ~gɦ]rɒ, /bjaghrɒ/, 'tiger',

a[g·ɦ~gɦ]ran, /agɦran/, 'smell, smelling,' etc.

It has to be noticed that these are all learned *tatsama* words in the language and rarely used in common parlance.

['gɦ] : A voiced velar aspirated plosive with a little glottal constriction, fortis ; occurs initially. It is fronted or back according as it is before the front or the back vowels. Before / i / it is slightly palatalized (?) ; e.g.

['gɦ]in, /gɦin/, 'hatred',

['gɦ]ẽɦu, /gɦẽɦu/, 'wheat',

['gɦ]ɐr, /gɦɐr/, 'circumference',

['gɦ]ati, /gɦati/, 'deficit, less,'

['gɦ]ɒr, /gɦɒr/, 'house',

['gɦ]ɔri, /gɦɔri/, 'watch, clock',

['gɦ]õra, /gɦõra/, 'horse',

['gɦ]ur, /gɦur/, 'to turn about', etc.

[gɦ] : With the stop element very lenis and without glottal constriction ; occurs intervocally ; slightly fronted before the front and back before the back vowels ; e.g.

bi[gɦ]ini, /bigɦini/, 'danger',

ba[gɦ]ini, /bagɦini/, 'tigress',

ba[gɦ]e, /bagɦe/, 'the tiger (Nom.)',

a[gɦ]at, /agɦat/, 'injury',

ɒ[gɦ]ɔri, /ɒgɦɔri/ 'homeless',

u[gɦ]ɔli, /ugɦɔli/, 'having uprooted',

lɒ[gɦ]on, /lɒgɦon/, 'fast, fasting',

lɔ[gɦ]u, /lɔgɦu/, 'light, weightless', etc.

[g̬ɦ] : With the stop element very lenis, which is followed by voiced aspiration that ends voiceless ; a little fronted after the front and back after the back vowels ; occurs finally ; e.g.

di[g̬ɦ], /digɦ/, 'length',

mɐ[g̬ɦ], /mɐgɦ/, 'cloud',

ma[gɦ], /magɦ/, 'an Assamese month corresponding to English January-Februry'

ba[gɦ], /bagɦ/, 'tiger',

nida [gh], /nidagɦ/, 'the summer',

lɒŋ[gɦ], /lɒŋgɦ/, 'to cross over, violate', etc.

[g̃ɦ] : A voiced velar aspirated stop with a nasal release ; occurs before the nasals medially in a few *tatsama* words ; e.g.

kritɒ[g̃ɦ]nɒ, /kritɒgɦnɒ/, 'ungrateful',

bi [g̃ɦ]nɒ, /bigɦnɒ/, 'danger', etc.

2.3240 **The Spirants.**

2.3241 /s/. It is a voiceless alveolar spirant with a great deal of friction. Its phonetic range extends from alveolar to palato-alveolar in point and slit to groove spirant in manner of articulation.

/ s / : [s̃· s· s̻· s s,]

[s̃·] : Alveolar voiceless spirant, fortis and half long ; a slit spirant in production of which the front of the tongue becomes flat and the blades rest against the roof of the alveolar region on both sides keeping a slit for the air stream to come out with friction. It occurs utterance initially before and utterance finally after the vowels / i e ɛ a ɒ /, and initially and medially before / r / in clusters ; e.g.

[s̃·]in, /sin/, 'sign, spot',

[s̃·]inaki, /sinaki/, 'acquaintance, acquainted, known',

[s̃·]ed, /sed/, 'pause, end',

[s̃·]ɔnɛɦ, /sɛnɛɦ/, 'love, affection',

[s̃·]a [s̃·], /sas/, 'to smoothen',

[s̃·]ɒl, /sɒl/, 'opportunity',

ni[s̃·], /nis/, 'low, lowly',

be[s̄·], /bes/, 'Fine ! excellent ! an appreciation',

bɐ[s̄·], /bɐs/, 'to sell', also, 'price, value',

khɒrɒ[s̄·], /khɒrɒs/, 'expenditure, expenses'.

[s̄·]ri, /sri/, 'beauty, form',

[s̄·]reni, /sreni/, 'class, group',

[s̄·]resthɒ, /sresthɒ/, 'the best, excellent',

[bi[s̄·]ri, /bisri/, 'odd looking, ugly',

a[s̄·]rɒm, /asrɒm/, 'hermitage',

xu[s̄·]ruxa, /xusruxa/, 'treatment',

ɒzɒ[s̄·]rɒ, /ɒzɒsrɒ/, 'too many',

bi[s̄·]raɪn, /bisraɪn/, 'rest'; etc.

[s·] : An alveolar groove spirant, half long and fortis, the blades of the tongue, in its production, touch the roof at the alveolar region on both sides keeping a grooved passage for the air stream to come out with some friction. It occurs initially before / ɔ o u / and finally after / o u /, and also when it is followed by / w / in a cluster ; e.g.

[s·]ɔriɐ, /sɔria/, 'tub',

[s·]oka, /soka/, 'sharp',

[s·]un, /sun/, 'lime',

[s·]uma, /suma/, 'kiss',

ko[s·], /kos/, 'lap', also, 'the *Koch* community',

ɦu[s·], /ɦus/, 'consciousness, sense',

[s·]wami, /swaɪni/, 'owner, husband',

bi[s·]wax, /biswax/, 'faith', etc.

[s] : An alveolar slit spirant, half long and a little palatalized ; it freely varies with alveo-palatal spirant [š]; occurs in cluster with a following /j/; initially fortis and medially lenis ; e.g.

[s̄,·~š]jam, /sjam/, 'Siam', also, 'dark colour',

[s̄,·~š]jɒmɒntɒ, /sjɒmɒntɒ/, 'name of a pearl, jewel',

ɔ[s̄,·~š] jut, /ɔsjut/, 'a name of Lord *Krishna*',

bɦɔbi[s̄,·~š]jɒt, /bɦɔbisjɒt/, 'future',

xi[s̄,·~š]jɒ, /xisjɒ/, 'disciple',

upa[s̄,·~š]jɒ, /upasjɒ/, 'fit to be worshipped', etc.

[s] : A slightly lenis slit spirant ; it occurs, (i) initially and medially before consonants other than / j r / ; (ii) medially after / r /, and (iii) intervocally. It is fortis initially, a little grooved before the back vowels / ɔ o u / and slightly palatalized before / i / ; e g.

(i) [s]tɒmbɦɒ, /stɒmbɦɒ/, 'post, pillar',

[s]than, /sthan/, 'place, location',

[s]pɒrxɒ, /spɒrxɒ/, 'touch',

[s]priŋ, /spriŋ/, 'spring (Eng.)',

[s]kɒndɦɒ, /skɒndɦɒ/ 'shoulder',

ɒ[s]tɒm, /ɒstɒm/, 'eighth',

xɒ[s]ta, /xɒsta/, 'cheap',

a[s]tha, /astha/, 'confidence',

pu[s]pɒ, /puspɒ/, 'flower',

bi[s]phurɒn, /bisphurɒn/, 'explosion',

bi[s]lexɒn, /bislexɒn/, 'analysis',

ni[s] [s]ɒe, /nissɒe/, 'certain, certainty, certainly',

a[s] [s]ad, /assad/, 'taste, flavour', etc.

(ii) ar[s]i, /arsi/, 'looking-glass',

par[s]i, /parsi/ 'Persian',

kur[s]ut, /kursut/, 'malice, ill feeling',

mur[s]a, /mursa/, 'fainting, hysteria', ;

(iii) mi[s]iri, /misiri/, 'sugar-candy',

be[s]i, /besi/, 'much, many',

pa[s]e, /pase/, 'then, after that',

a[s]ar, /asar/, 'manners',

a[s]ɔrit, /asɔrit/, 'strange',

ka[s]ɒ, /kasɒ/, 'tortoise',

go[s]ɒr, /gosɒr/, 'complaint',

khu[s]ura, /khusura/, 'small, (as expenditure)'.

[s~s,] : An alveolar spirant [s] in free variation with palatalized spirant [s,] : occurs after / t / in a cluster ; e.g.

it[s~s,]a, /itsa/, 'wish, desire',

ut[s~s,]ɒta, /utsɒta/, 'height',

sikit[s~s,]a, /sikitsa/, 'medical treatment',

kut[s~s,]it, /kutsit/, 'ugly',

kɒt[s~s,]it, /kɒtsit/, 'rarely, sometimes',

ut[s~s,]uk, /utsuk/, 'eager, anxious',

at[s~s,]a, /atsa/, 'all right, O.K.', etc.

This [s~s,] along with the preceding phoneme / t /, i.e. the cluster / ts / also occurs in the cluster / rts / where [ts~ts,] freely varies with [ss] = / ss / and with [s] = / s / ; e.g.

sɒr[ts~ts,~ss~s]a, /sɒrtsa/ or /sɒrssa /, 'study, consultation',

ɒr[ts~ts,~ss~s]ɒna, /ɒrtsɒna/ or /ɒrssɒna/, 'worship', etc.

The phonetic form sɒr[s]a or ɒrt[s]ɒua cannot be phonemicized as / sɒrsa/ or / ɒrsɒna/ respectively, since there will be contrasts with /rs/ cluster in words like /parsi/, 'Persian', /arsi/, 'looking glass', etc. which do not have any free variation in the nature of /rts/ clusters. It has to be noted that these are all learned *tatsama* words and rarely used by highly educated persons only.

2.3242 / z /. It is a voiced alveolar spirant, the voiced counterpart of the phoneme / s / although its phonetic range is comparatively further front. It is slit before / i e ɛ a ɒ /, and a little groove before the back vowels / ɔ o u /.

/ z / : ['z z z· z̬ dz, d·z,].

['z] : An alveolar voiced spirant, fortis and a little long with slight glottalization ; also a little palatalized (?) before / i / ; occurs initially before vowels ; e.g.

['z]ibɒn, /zibɒn/, 'life',

['z]in, /zin/, 'digestion',

['z]ed, /zed/, 'obstinacy',

['z]ɛ̄ka, /zɛka/, 'wet, moistened',

['z]atiɒ, /zatiɒ/, 'national',

['z]ɔtua, /zɔtua/, 'idiomatic',

['z]okh, /zokh/, 'measurement',

['z]onak, /zonak/, 'moon light',

['z]ur, /zur/, 'mild, gentle, calm', etc.

[z] : A lenis voiced alveolar spirant, occurs intervocally ; e.g.

si[z]il, /sizil/, 'discipline, order',

bi[z]uli, /bizuli/, 'lightning, electricity',

bɛ[z]ɛ̄ra, /bɛ̄zɛra/, 'irritating',

bɦa[z]ɒni, /bɦazɒni/, 'expert (woman, generally in weaving)',

a[z]i, /azi/, 'today',

a[z]anu, /azanu/, 'extending to the knee',

ɒ[z]ɒla, /ɒzɒla/, 'simpleton',

bɒ[z]ar, /bɒzar/, 'bazaar',

a[z]ɔri, /azɔri/, 'leisure',

ɛ[z]or, /ɛzor/, 'one pair',

bo[z]a, /boza/, 'load',

o[z]ɒn, /ozɒn/, 'weight',

mu[z]ura, /muzura/, 'retarded (in growth)',

u[z]ir, /uzir/, 'a nobleman, a minister', etc.

[z·] : A slit spirant, half long ; occurs medially before / r / in a cluster ; e.g.

bɒ[z·]rɒ, /bɒzrɒ/, 'thunderbolt, spear',

i[z·]rail, /izrail/, 'Israel', etc.

[$\underset{v}{z}$·] : It is lenis and half long, ends voiceless. It occurs finally ; e.g.

kami[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /kamiz/, 'shirt',

bi[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /biz/, 'seed, germ',

mɛ[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /mez/, 'table',

bɛ[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /bɛz/, 'physician',

la[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /laz/, 'bashfulness, shame',

zaɦa[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /zaɦaz/, 'ship',

nimɒ[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /nimɒz/, 'smooth, fine',

xɒ[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /xɒz/, 'honest, gentle',

bɦo[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /bɦoz/, 'feast',

zu[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /zuz/, 'fight',

xuru[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /xuruz/, 'the sun',

ár[$\underset{v}{z}$·], /arz/, 'to earn', etc.

[dz,] : A voiced alveolar affricate : the fricative element is a little palatalized ; occurs before / j / in cluster. Initially the stop element becomes very short ; e.g.

[dz,]jɹti, /zjuti/, 'light, glow',

ɹ[dz,]jɒ, /ɹzjɒ/, 'not mentioned, understood',

xɒ[dz,]jɒ, /xɒzjɒ/, 'tolerance',

pɹ[dz,]jɒ, /pɹzjɒ/, 'reverend, respectable',

i[dz,]jɒt, /izjɒt/, 'prestige, respect', etc.

[d·z,] : It is a voiced alveolar affricate with the stop element a bit long and the fricative a bit palatalized ; occurs intervocally, and medially after / r / where [d·z,] occasionally freely varies with [dz,].[1]

This allophone has been phonemicized as the geminate / zz / since there is no contrast between [d·z,] and [zz] ~ / zz / ; e.g.

ɹ[d·z,]ɒl, /ɹzzɒl/, 'bright',

mɒ[d·z,]a, /mɒzza/, 'marrow',

xɒ[d·z,]ɒn, /xɒzzɒn/, 'respectable person',

---

1 [d z,] could also be treated either as a unit affricate phoneme / j̆ / or as a cluster /dz/. The first solution will result in the addition of an extra phoneme with very limited distribution ; and the second one will tempt to phonemicize all the affricate realizations as clusters, and thus create an initial cluster quite uncommon with the phonemic system of the language. These two solutions will deviate from another conformity in the consonantal pattern, i.e. they will eliminate the geminate / zz /.

The voiceless alveolar spirant / s / has also affricate realizations which have not been treated as unit phoneme on the line of those of / z /. But then, it should also be noted that / s / and / z / do not behave the same way in their distribution and environmental variants ; and therefore, may be treated differently as well.

All words with affricate allophones of these phonemes are learned *tatsama* words used by the educated persons, pronounced differently by different individuals ; and sometimes varying in style in the same idiolect ; and thus create complication in systematization.

r[d·z, ~dz,] cannot be treated as / rzz / ~ / rz / since there are contrasts between them ; e.g. ar[d·z, ~dz,]ɒ, /arzzɒ/, 'Aryans', ar[z]ɒ, /arzɒ/, '(you, fam.) earn', etc.

bir [d·z,~dz]ɒ, /birzzɒ/, 'vigour, strength, semen',

bɒr[d·z,~dz,]ɒn, /bɒrzzɒn/, 'boycott',

ar[d·z,~dz,]ɒ, /arzzɒ/, 'the Aryans',

ɔr[d·z. ~dz,]un, /ɔrzzun/, '*Arjuṇa*, the third *Pāṇḍava*',

mar[d·z,~dz,]itɒ, /marzzitɒ/, 'refined, polite', etc.

2.3243 / x /. It is a velar voiceless spirant which does not have much of friction in any of its allophones. The phonetic range of this phoneme is very large since before every vowel the back of the tongue takes different positions extending from the hard palate to the back velar regions.

/ x / : [ç· ç x· x x$^{>}$ x$^{·>}$].

[ç·] and [ç] are palatal spirants with very little friction ; [ç·] is half long, occurs initially and finally before and after / i e / ; it is a little fortis initially. [ç] is lenis and without length, occurs medially in between and before the above two vowels ; e.g.

[ç·]ikhja, /xikhja/, 'education, learning',

[ç·]il, /xil/, 'stone',

[ç·]itɒl, /xitɒl/, 'cool',

[ç·]ima, /ximɑ/, 'boundary, limit',

[ç·]eluai, /xeluai/, 'moss',

[ç·]etu, /xetu/, 'bridge',

bi[ç·], /bix/, 'pain',

[ç·]e[ç·], /xex/, 'end, finish, final',

de[ç·], /dex,/ 'country',

bi[ç]e[ç·], /bixex/, 'special',

a[ç]i[ç·], /axix/, 'blessing',

ɔ[ç]im, /ɔxim/, 'boundless, endless',

bar[ç]ik /barxik/, 'annual',

bɒr[ç]e, /bɒrxe/, '(it) rains', etc.

[x·] and [x] are mid-velar and occur with / a / : the former initially where it is a little fortis, and finally ; and the latter, medially. They also occur with / ɛ / where they are slightly fronted ; e.g.

[x·]ɛk, /xɛk/, 'to bake',

[x·]ɛ̃ta, /xɛ̃ta/, 'pale',

[x·]ap, /xap/, 'snake',

[x·]adɦarɒn, /xadɦaran/, 'ordinary, general',

lɛ[x·], /lɛx/, 'the least (amount)',

mɛ[x·], /mɛx/, '*Meṣa rāśi*',

a[x]a, /axa/, 'hope, desire',

u [x]a, /uxa/, 'dawn',

bi[x]al, /bixal/, 'extensive',

ni[x]a, /nixa/, 'night',

bɒr[x]a, /bɒrxa/, 'rainy season',

ka[x·], /kax/, 'proximity, side, near', etc.

[x·˃] and [x˃] are back-velar voiceless spirants. [x·˃] is half long and a little fortis initially and lenis finally. [x˃] is without length and lenis, occurs medially. They occur initially and medially before, and finally after the back vowels /ɒ ɔ o u/ ; e.g.

[x·˃]ɒkam, /xɒkam/, 'function, duty, work',

[x·˃]ɔru, /xɔru/, 'small',

[x·˃]oropa, /xoropa/, 'idle',

[x·˃]on, /xon/, 'gold',

[x·˃]ukan, /xukan/, 'dry',

ɒ[x˃]ɒm, /ɒxɒm/, 'Assam',

ɒ[x˃]ɒmia, /ɒxɒmia/, 'Assamese',

ɒ[x˃]ok, /ɒxok/, '*Aśoka*, the emperor',

a[x˃]u, /axu/, 'immediate, immediately, soon',

ɔ[x˃]ur, /ɔxur/, 'demon',

nu[x˃]une, /nuxune/, '(he) does not listen to',

bɒeɒ[x˃], /bɒeɒx/, 'age',

zɒ[x˃], /zɒx/, 'fame',

[x˃]ɒnto[x˃], /xɒntox/, 'satisfaction',

ku[x˃], /kux/, '*Kuśa* grass', etc.

2.3244 / ɦ /. This is a voiced glottal spirant with strong friction; its allophones vary between fully voiced and almost voiceless ones. Like the vowels, / ɦ / may also be fully nasalized.

/ ɦ / : [ɦ˙ h˙ ḥ h̃ ɦ].

[ɦ.] : A glottal spirant, half long and fortis; it starts voiceless and becomes fully voiced afterwards before starting of the following vowel; a little palatalized (?) before / i /; occurs initially; e.g.

[ɦ˙]imalɒe, /ɦimalɒe/, 'the Himalayas',

[ɦ˙]it, /ɦit/, 'good, benefit',

[ɦ˙]etu, /ɦetu/, 'reason',

[ɦ˙]ɐla, /ɦɐla/, 'negligence',

[ɦ˙]ɐbaŋ, /ɦɐbaŋ/, 'idiot',

[ɦ˙]ar, /ɦar/, 'bone, chain',

[ɦ˙]alɔdɦia, /ɦalɔdɦia/, 'yellow',

[ɦ˙]ɒrɒn, /ɦɒrɒn/, 'division',

[ɦ˙]ɔrina, /ɦɔrina/, 'deer',

[ɦ˙]okarɒni, /ɦokarɒni/, 'growling',

[ɦ˙]ukum, /ɦukum/, 'order',

[ɦ˙]uta, /ɦuta/, 'harsh, rude, uneven', etc.

[h·] A glottal spirant, lenis and half long ; it starts fully voiced and ends voiceless ; occurs finally when not preceded by a nasalized vowel ; e.g.

bi[h·], /biɦ/, 'poison',

xɒndɛ[h·], /xɒndɛɦ/, 'doubt, suspicion',

bɒta [h·] /bɒtaɦ/, 'wind, air',

xɒrɒ[h·], /xɒrɒɦ/, 'much, more',

dro[h·], /droɦ/, 'enmity',

pu[h·], /puɦ/, 'An Assamese month corresponding to December-January', etc.

[ḥ] : Voiceless and lenis, occurs medially in clusters before / x /; e.g.

ni[ḥ]xɒndɛɦ, /niɦxɒndɛɦ /, 'without suspicion',

ni[ḥ]xex, /niɦxex/, 'finish, end',

du[ḥ]xaxɒn, /duɦxaxɒn/, '*Duḥśāsana*', etc.

These learned words from Sanskrit are rarely used in common parlance, and often pronounced in variants without the /ɦ/, e.g. /nixɒndɛɦ/, /nixex/, and /duxaxɒn/, etc.

[h̃] : A glottal spirant, nasalized ; it occurs initially, intervocally and finally when preceded by a nasal, or preceded or followed by a vowel nasalized either by phoneme of nasalization or by its preceding nasal. It is half long and half voiced starting or ending voiceless initially or finally respectively ; e.g.

[h̃·]ã[h̃]i, /ɦãɦi/, 'laughter',

[h̃·]ã[h̃·], /ɦãɦ/, 'duck',

[h̃·]ɛ̃sa, /ɦɛ̃sa/, 'pressure',

kã[h̃.]i, /kãɦi/, 'plates made of bell-metal',

mɒ[h̃·], /mɒɦ/, 'mosquito',

bɒŋ̃ɒ[h·], /bɒŋɒɦ/, 'relative',

ã[ɦ̃·], /ãɦ/, 'fibre',

kõ [ɦ̃·], /kõɦ/, 'new leaf or bud',

sɛnɛ̃[ɦ̃·], /sɛnɛɦ/, 'affection, love', etc.

[ɦ] : A fully voiced glottal spirant, lenis ; occurs medially elsewhere ; e.g.

bi [ɦ]it, /biɦit/, 'suitable, lawful, befitting',

bɛ [ɦ]ɛla, /bɛɦɛla/, 'violin',

a[ɦ]ar, /aɦar/, 'food',

birɔ[ɦ]i, /birɔɦi/, 'mourning one, sorrowful',

asɔ[ɦ]ua, /asɔɦua/, 'strange',

bɦoto[ɦ]a, /bɦotoɦa/, 'blunt',

xu[ɦ]uri, /xuɦuri/, 'whistle',

ɒr[ɦ]ɒta, /ɒrɦɒta/, 'qualification',

prɒ[ɦ]lad, /prɒɦlad/, '*Prahlāda*, son of *Hiraṇyakaśipu*'.

2.3250 The nasals.

There are three nasals in Assamese which have two features, stop as well as continuant, both at once: orally they are stops like any other stops, but unlike in the production of the stops, the air stream passes through the nasal passage without any break in its continuity. Therefore, release or unrelease of the nasals, in fact, means release or otherwise of the contact in the oral passage.

2.3251 The bilabial voiced nasal / m /.

/ m / : [m· m m̚].

[m·] : A voiced bilabial nasal, half long ; it occurs in environment II, and freely varies with [m] without length in environment III ; e.g.

ka[m·]jɒ, /kamjɒ/, 'desirable',

rɒ [m·]jɒ, /rɒmjɒ/, 'beautiful',

kɒr[m·~m]ɒ /kɒrmɒ/, 'work, duty',

dɦar[m·~m]ik, /dɦarmik/, 'religious minded, pious',

ɒ[m·~m]rit, /ɒmrit/, 'nectar',

nɒ[m·~m]rɒ, /nɒmrɒ/. 'polite, humble', etc.

[m] : Voiced bilabial nasal, fortis initially, and lenis intervocally and finally where it is slightly long and unreleased ; e.g.

[m]ikir, /mikir/, 'Mikir, a tribe in Assam',

[m]ɛ[m]ɛ̂ra, /mɛmɛ̂ra/, 'weak, slim, wretched',

[m]a[m]i, /mami/, 'aunt (wife of maternal uncle)',

[m]a[m]a, /mama/, 'maternal uncle',

[m]ɒrɒ[m], /mɒrɒm/, 'affection, love,'

[m]ritɒ, /mritɒ/, 'dead',

[m]jad, /mjad/ 'limit',

pɒd[m]ɒ, /pɒdmɒ/, 'lotus',

zɒn[m]ɒ, /zɒnmɒ/, 'birth', etc.

[m̥] : Bilabial nasal, starts voiceless and then becomes fully voiced ; it occurs after the voiceless spirant /s/ ; e.g.

us[m̥]ɒ, /usmɒ/, 'warm, hot',

s[m̥]ɒrɒn, /smɒrɒn/, 'recollection',

bis[m̥]ɒe, /bismɒe/, 'surprise',

ɒkɒs[m̥]at, /ɒkɒsmat/, 'suddenly, at once', etc.

2.3252 The alveolar voiced nasal /n/.

Allophones of this nasal vary from pre-alveolar to post-alveolar or slightly retroflex in quality. Pre-alveolar allophones occur before / j / and / t / in clusters.

/ ɳ /: [ɳ· ɳ ɳ].

[ɳ·]: A voiced retroflex nasal in production of which the tongue tip curls up and touches the back alveolar region at the roof of the mouth. There is more retroflexion when the / r / preceding it is preceded by the back vowels. It is half long but freely varies with [ɳ] which is retroflex and without length; occurs in environment III B; e.g.

zir[ɳ·~ɳ]ɒ, /zirnɒ/, 'digestion',

bɒr[ɳ·~ɳ]ɒ, /bɒrnɒ/, 'colour',

pur[ɳ·~ɳ]ima, /purnima/, 'full-moon night,' etc.

[n·]: Voiced pre-alveolar nasal, half long, occurs in environment II; e.g.

bi[n·]jax, /binjax/, 'analysis',

ɒ[n·]jɒ, /ɒnjɒ/, 'other',

kɒ[n·]ja, /kɒnja/ 'bride', also, 'small girl',

ɔbɦimɒ[n·]ju, /ɔbɦimɒnju/, '*Abhimanyu*, son of *Arjuṇa*,

xu[n·]jɒ, /xunjɒ/, 'empty, emptiness, zero',

pu[n·]jɒ, /punjɒ/, 'virtue, piety', etc.

[n]: Voiced alveloar nasal, occurs initially and medially; and also finally, where it is slightly long and unreleased. It is fronted to the pre-alveolar point before / t /; lenis intervocally and finally; e.g.

[n]imɒkh, /nimɒkh/, 'salt',

[n]i[n]iba, /niniba/, 'Don't take !',

[n]a[n]a[n], /nanan/, 'various, many',

[n]ɔtu[n], /nɔtun/, 'new',

ma[n]uɦ, /manuɦ/, 'man',

zu[n]uka, /zunuka/, 'tinkling bell',

ba[n]a[n], /banan/, 'spelling',

apo[n], /apon/, 'own, relative',

phɛ[n], /phɛn/, 'foam',

su[n], /sun/, 'lime', etc.

[n̪]: An alveolar nasal, starts voiceless and immediately becomes fully voiced ; occurs after / s / in clusters ; e.g.

s[n̪]an, /snan/ 'bath',

bis[n̪]u, /bisnu,/, 'Lord *Vishnu*',

prɒs[n̪]ɒ, /prɒsnɒ/, 'question',

xɔɦis[n̪]u, /xɔɦisnu/, 'tolerant',

bɔis[n̪]ɒb, /bɔisnɒb/, 'a *Vaishnava*',

s[n̪]aiu, /snaiu/, 'nerve', etc.

2.3253 The voiced velar nasal / ŋ /.

The distribution of this nasal phoneme is limited to medial and final occurrences only[1].

/ ŋ / : [ŋ· ŋ].

[ŋ·]: Voiced velar nasal, half long ; it freely varies with [ŋ] without length ; occurs medially in clusters before velar consonants ; e.g.

ɒ[ŋ·~ŋ]kɒ, /ɒŋkɒ/, 'arithmetic, mathematics',

ɒ[ŋ·~ŋ]gɒ, /ɒŋgɒ/, 'limb, part',

xɒ[ŋ·~ŋ]gi, /xɒŋgi/, 'companion',

ɒ[ŋ·~ŋ]xidar, /ɒŋxidar/, 'share-holder',

lɒ[ŋ·~ŋ]gɦɒn, /lɒŋgɦɒn/, 'violation', etc.

[ŋ]: Without length, lenis ; occurs medially and finally where it is slightly long ; e.g.

---

1. / ŋ / does not occur initially in Assamese words and therefore, a native speaker finds it very difficult to pronounce it in that position. In the Lower Primary schools the students are therefore taught to pronounce it as /uˈ]ɒ/ in the *Vyañjana Varṇamālā*.

di[ŋ]i, /diŋi/, 'neck',

dɦiti[ŋ]a, /dɦitiŋa/, 'idle',

se[ŋ]eli, /seŋeli/, 'restless',

mɒ[ŋ]ɒɦ, /mɒŋɒɦ/, 'meat, flesh',

ɛ[ŋ]ar, /ɛ̃ŋar/, 'charcoal',

re[ŋŋ]un, /reŋŋun/, 'Rangoon',

xi]ŋ], /xiŋ/, 'horn',

sɛlɛ[ŋ], /sɛlɛŋ/, 'scarf, chaddar',

zo[ŋ], /zoŋ/, 'pointed end, thorn',

xu[ŋ], /xuŋ/, 'to smell', etc.

2.3260 The Lateral.

There is one voiced lateral / l /. The tongue, in articulating its allophones touches the alveola, and the air stream passes through both sides.

/ l / : [l· ɭ· l̪ l].

[l·] : Voiced alveolar lateral, half long and a little fronted ; occurs in environment II ; e.g.

ɒɦɒ[l·]ja, /ɒɦɒlja/, '*Ahalyā*', a female name,

ma[l·]jɒ, /maljɒ/, 'garland',

mu[l·]jaŋkɒn, /muljaŋkɒn/, 'evaluation', etc.

[ɭ·] : It is post-alveolar or very slightly retroflex, half long but it freely varies with [ɭ] without length ; occurs in environment III B : e.g.

dur [ɭ·~ɭ]ɒbɦ, /durlɒbɦ/, 'rare to get',

bar[ɭ~ɭ]i, /barli/, 'barley', etc.

[l̪] : Alveolar lateral, starts voiceless and immediately becomes fully voiced ; occurs in clusters with / s / ; e.g.

ɒs[l̥]il, /ɒslil/, 'obscene',

bis[l̥]exɒn, /bislexɒn/, 'analysis',

s[l̥]esma, /slesma/, 'phlem', etc.

[l] : Without length, occurs elsewhere ; a little fortis initially, and lenis medially and finally where it is slightly long ; e.g.

[l]i[l]i, /lili/, 'Lily, a name of girls',

[l]a[l], /lal/, 'red',

[xu[l]ɔ[l]it, /xulɔlit/, 'sweet, pleasing to the ear',

muku[l], /mukul/, 'bud',

uki[l], /ukil/, 'lawyer, advocate', etc.

2.3270 The trill.

There is one voiced alveolar trill / r / which has a wide phonetic range extending from pre-alveolar to post-alveolar in point of articulation. It has allophones which are trilled, retroflex continuant and flap. / r / is very clear after the front and central vowels, and a little dark after the back vowels finally[1].

/ r / : [r· r ɾ· ɻ r̋].

[r·] : An alveolar voiced continuant, almost frictionless and half long. Occasionally it is pronounced with slight touch of the blade of the tongue against the alveola; back before the higher back vowels, occurs initially. There is slight friction when it is preceded by some juncture other than the terminal pause ; e.g.

[r·]itu, /ritu/, 'season',

[r·]enu, /renu/, 'pollen',

[r·]ɐkha, /rɐkha/, 'line',

[r·]ap, /rap/, 'interest',

[r·]ɒ, /rɒ/, 'Wait !',

---

1. Dr B. Kakati (1962 : § 94) has discussed the phoneme / r / as having only one phonetic quality, as 'voiced alveolar rolled'.

[r·]ɔd, /rɔd/, 'sun shine',

[r·]o, /ro/, 'to plant',

[r·]up, /rup/, 'shape, beauty' ; also, 'silver',

[r·]uti, /ruti/, 'bread', etc.

[r] : An alveolar frictionless continuant, and very often a flap ; back before / ɒ ɔ o u / and very slightly retroflex between the back vowels. It is lenis, occurs intervocally ; e.g.

ɒxɔ[r]i[r]i, /ɒxɔriri/, 'formless, bodiless, unseen',

bi[r]endrɒ, /birendrɒ/, 'great hero',

ti[r]ota, /tirota/, 'woman',

ɦi[r]a, /ɦira/, 'diamond',

pa[r]ɒ, /parɒ/, 'pigeon',

bɛ̈[r]a, /bɛ̈ra/, 'wall',

tɒ[r]ɒni, /tɒrɒni/, 'a petition writer',

mu[r]uli, /muruli/, 'flute',

kɔ[r]un, /kɔrun/, 'pitiful, sorrowful',

mu[r]i, /muri/, 'puffed rice', etc.

[ɾ] and [ɾ·] : These are voiced retroflex continuants ; the former occurs as the first member of a cluster medially, and the latter, which is half long occurs finally. Retroflexion of both the allophones are a little more after the high back vowels ; e.g.

zi[ɾ]nɒ, /zirnɒ/, 'digestion',

ba[ɾ]ta, /barta/, 'news',

pɒ[ɾ]da, /pɒrda/, 'curtain',

sɒ[ɾ]gɒ, /sɒrgɒ/, 'heaven',

pu[ɾ]nɒ, /purnɒ/, 'full',

mu[ɾ]ti, /murti/, 'idol, image',

ɔdɦi[ɾ·], /ɔdɦir/, 'impatient',

dɦe[ɾ˙], /dɦer/, 'many, more',

khɐ[ɾ˙], /khɐr/, 'straw',

kɒ[ɾ˙], /kɒr/, 'to do',

kɔ[ɾ˙], /kɔr/, 'from where',

mo[ɾ˙], /mor/, 'my, mine',

xu[ɾ˙], /xur/, 'trunk (of elephants)',

adɒ[ɾ˙], /adɒr/, 'love, affection', etc.

[ɾ̃] is same as the above allophone [ɾ] except that it is pre-nasalized ; occurs after nasalized (phonemic) vowels ; e.g.

ã[ɾ̃˙], /ãr/, 'to hang down',

dã[ɾ˙], /dãr/, 'aor', also 'pole',

kã[ɾ̃˙], /kãr/, 'arrow', etc.

[r̋] : Voiced alveolar, with a little more friction and slight trill ; occurs as the last member in a consonant cluster. After voiceless consonant it starts voiceless and then becomes fully voiced ; e.g.

t[r̋]an, /tran/, 'safety, rescue',

p[r̋]ani, /prani/, 'life, animal',

b[r̋]ɒɦma, /brɒɦma/, '*Brahmā*',

bɦ[r̋]ukuti, /bɦrukuti/, 'joking',

bik[r̋]ɒm, /bikrɒm/, 'valour, strength',

bɦɒd[r̋]ɒlok, /bɦɒdrɒlok/, 'gentleman',

xɒmp[r̋]ɔti, /xɒmprɔti/, 'at present, now',

nisk[r̋[ɒmɒn, /niskrɒmɒn/, 'departure, exit', etc.

2.3280 The frictionless continuants.

The frictionless continuants / w j / have been treated as rare phonemes in the language because of their limited distribution. They do not occur initially before vowels, and present contrasts with the vowels / o u / and / e i / respectively after consonants only. Intervocally and finally in unstressed positions there are no constrasts between / w / = [w] and / o / = [o̯] or / u / = [u̯] as between / j / = [j] and / i / = [i̯] or / e / = [e̯].

Therefore, it has been clear that although / w / and / j / have contrasts with the vowels after consonants, these contrasts are neutralized, or they overlap with / o u / and / e i / respectively in all other positions except initially before vowels where / w / and / j / never occur[1].

---

1. In such a situation two solutions may be possible : Solution No. (1) is to give full phonemic status to all phonetic [o̯] and [u̯] and [i̯] and [e̯], and recognize them as essential phonemes like the others. The fact that / w / and / j / do not occur initially does not matter much since there is another phoneme / ŋ / in the language that shares the same limitation in distribution. In this solution the vowels will occur in stressed positions only ; on the other hand, there will be four semi-vowels corresponding to the four higher front and back vowels ; and the description of the syllable structure will, to some extent, be simplified.

Solution No. (2) is to give phonemic status to / w / and / j / but limit their distribution to the occurrences after consonants only ; and to phonemicize all [o̯ u̯] and [e̯ i̯] as allophones of the vowels / o u / and / e i / respectively in unstressed positions after and in between vowels, thereby the number of phonemes will be reduced.

The choice of one over the other seems, to some extent, to be arbitrary ; but in the present analysis the second solution is accepted for the following reasons :

(i) The contrasts between / w / and the vowels / o u / are very rare, and only two cases have been recorded so far : after / d / and / s /, i.e. in the clusters / dw / and /sw/. It has also to be noted that these clusters occur in learned Sanskrit words and that they have variants in the geminates / dd / and / ss / which are very common and frequent in medial occurrences.

(ii) / j / forms more clusters than / w /. If we restrict / w /, one of the two frictionless continuants, then the other one, i.e. / j / may also be restricted and both made rare phonemes. We shall have like distributions of the phonemes / w / and / j / and similar allophones of the vowels / o u / and / e i /.

2.3281 / w /. It is a voiced bilabial frictionless continuant, a rare phoneme ; occurs as [w] in clusters with / d / and / s / as first members initially and medially, where it presents contrasts with the vowels / o u /. After / s / it starts voiceless and becomes fully voiced afterwards ; e.g.

s[w]ami /swami/, 'husband, *Swāmī*',

s[o]ali, /soali/, 'girl',

s[u]a, /sua/, 'impurity, impure',

gos[w]ami, /goswami/, '*Goswāmī*, a title',

gus[u]ali, /gusuali/, '(you, fam.) have removed',

mɒs[o]ai, /mɒsoai/, 'fishy, relating to fish',

d[w]arɒka, /dwarɒka/, '*Dwārakā*',

d[u]ar, /duar/, 'door', etc.

/ dw / and / sw / freely vary with / d / and / s / initially and with / dd / and / ss / medially respectively ; e.g.

/dwarɒka/ ~ /darɒka/, '*Dwārakā*',

/ɦɔridwar/ ~ /ɦɔriddar/, '*Hardwar*',

/swami/ ~ /sami/, 'husband, a *Swāmī*',

/iswɒr/ ~ /issɒr/, 'God',

/swɒr/ ~ /sɒr/, 'vowel, voice',

/biswax/ ~ /bissax/, 'faith, trust', etc.

2.3282 / j /. It is a voiced palatal frictionless continuant, the only palatal phoneme in the language. It occurs as a second member in initial clusters with / t b g kh dɦ m n s z / and in medial clusters with / p t k b d g th kh bɦ dɦ m n s z l / where there may be contrasts with / e i / ; e.g.

(iii) The restricted distribution of / w / and / j / will help to conform to the structural symmetry of the vowel geminates / ii /, / ee /, / oo /, / uu / along with / ɒɒ / and / aa /.

(iv) The number of semi-volwels will also be reduced to two.

(v) Another point is that / w j / present contrast in the speech of highly educated and orthodox persons only. The common man, the literates even, have hardly any contrasts in words with [w] and [o u], and [j] and [e i].

/ŋjai/, 'justice', ... /ŋiai/, 'having taken',

/tjag/, 'sacrifice', ... /tiam/, '(I) shall soak',

/sjam/, 'Siam, Thailand', ... /siam/, '(I) shall thatch the roof',

/ɒŋjai/, 'injustice', ... /khɒŋiai/, 'having arranged (as betel nut for eating), folding',

/bɒŋja/, 'flood', ... /bɒŋia/, 'a caste in Assam',

/ɒrɒŋjɒ/, 'forest', ... /bɒrɒŋiɒ/, 'reverend',

/ɒɦɒlja/, '*Ahalyā*', a proper name for girl,

... /bɒkhɔlia/, 'Peel off (the skin) !', etc.

2.40 Consonant Clusters.

Consonant clusters in the eastern Assamese dialect that abounds in *tadbhava* words, i.e. words derived historically from Sanskrit sources through Middle Indo-Aryan stages, are not many. But they are numerous and very frequent in the Western Assamese dialects ; the main reason for this being the strong initial stress system[1] that is responsible for transposition or elision of the medial vowels in the *tadbhava* words. The Standard literary language evolved in the middle of the nineteenth century was specially marked by *tadbhava* words, homely and pure without any clusters. Later on the language turned towards Sanskrit for its source of vocabulary in the writings of Hemachandra Barua and his followers, and thus became Sanskritized ; as a result, more and more words with clusters in modified or unmodified form crept into the language.

The discussions that follow on consonant clusters mainly relate to *tatsama* words, i.e. words directly borrowed from Sanskrit, to foreign words, and to a few other words of Western Assamese dialects that have entered the Standard Colloquial and the literary style.

2.41 Distribution of Clusters.

Clusters occur initially, medially and finally. Clusters of two or three consonants may be permitted initially and medially, while clusters of two consonants only may occur finally.

---

1 Dr. B. Kakati : 1962. §§ 147-151.

2.4111 Initial clusters are fewer than medial ones. The following shows the nature of intial clusters in the language.

	First member	Second member
(a)	/ p t k b d g kh bɦ dɦ gɦ m n s ɦ /	... / r / ;
(b)	/ p k g m s /	... / l / ;
(c)	/ t b g kh dɦ m n s z /	... / j / ;
(d)	/ s / ...	/ p t k th kh m n r l j w / ;
(e)	/ d /	/ w /.

In three consonant clusters,

(f) / p t k m / may be preceded by / s / and followed by / r /.

2.4112 The Final clusters are very few and limited in nature : all the permitted clusters have a sonorant as the first member ; e.g.

(a) / mp /,

(b) / nt nd ndɦ ns /, and

(c) / rt rs rz rɦ /.

2.4113 Medial clusters.

All final and initial clusters and the clusters shown in the Chart to follow are permitted medially.

2.42 Clusters of more than two consonants.

There are clusters of three consonants where the first member may be either / s / , / r / or a nasal, and the last member, one of the phonemes / r s z j /. The following clusters are recorded ; e.g.

(a) / spr str skr smr /,

(b) / ntr ndr ŋkr ŋgr ndɦr mbɦr mpr /,

(c) / ntj ndj ndɦj ŋgj ŋgɦj ŋkhj /, and,

(d) / rss rzz rts rdz /.

2.43 Consonant gemination.

Phonemic gemination of consonants occur with the following consonants :

/ p t k b d g m n ŋ l s z /.

All consonants save the aspirates when preceded by a syllable with emphatic stress may be optionally doubled. The stop element of the aspirates is lengthened in like environment.

2.44 Clusters in a Chart.

The following Chart (in page 86) shows the two-consonant clusters of the language.

The phonemes on the horizontal line at the top are the following, and those on the vertical line at the extreme left are the preceding members of the clusters.

The numbers in the Chart express the numbers of the illustrations of clusters in the following section.

The following clusters have some limitations and free variations. The clusters / bl / (34) and / ldɦ / (138) are usually broken by anaptyxis as / bal / or / bɒl /, and / lɒdɦ / as variants respectively. / ŋgɦ / (109) occurs in a three-consonant cluster only in / ŋgɦj / ; and / ɦkh / (79) has / kkh / as its common variant. / ŋs / (110) occurs in a few proper names with a stylistic variant in / ŋx /.

2.45 Clusters illustrated. The serial number at the left refers to the number in the Chart in page 86.

1. /pp/ : /thappɒr/, 'a slap on the head',
   /dɦappa/, 'falsehood' ;

2. /pt/ : /xuptɒ/, 'dormant', 'sleeping',
   /utɒptɒ/, repentant',
   /bjapti/, 'expansion', /xɒptaɦ/, 'week' ;

3. /ps/ : /lipsa/, 'desire', /ɒpsɒra/, 'fairy',
   /ipsitɒ/, 'desired' ;

4. /pn/ : /sɒpnɒ/, 'dream' ;

THE CHART (§2.44)

	p	t	k	b	d	g	ph	th	kh	bɦ	dɦ	gɦ	s	z	x	ɦ	m	n	ŋ	r	l	j	w
p	1	2											3					4		5	6	7	
t	8	9	10				11	12	13				14		15		16	17		18		19	
k		20	21						22				23				24			25	26	27	
b				28	29					30	31			32						33	34	35	
d					36	37				38	39	40					41			42		43	44
g						45					46						47	48		49	50	51	
ph																							
th																						52	
kh																	53	54		55		56	
bɦ																				57		58	
dɦ																				59		60	
gɦ																		61		62			
s	63	64	65				66	67	68				69				70	71		72	73	74	75
z																				76		77	
x																							
ɦ				78					79						80		81	82		83	84		
m	85	86		87			88			89							90			91	92	93	
n		94			95	96		97			98		99	100			101	102		103		104	
ŋ		105	106			107			108			109	110	111	112	113			114				
r	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132			133		
l	134	135	136			137					138						139	140			141	142	

5. /pr/ : /pran/, 'life', /prem/, 'love',
/ɒpriɒ/, 'unpalatable',
/biprɒ/, 'brahmin', /apran/, 'utmost';

6. /pl/ : /plabɒn/, 'flood', /biplɒb/, 'revolution';

7. /pj/ : /gopjɒ/, 'secret, private';

8. /tp/ : /utpat/, 'disturbance', /utpadɒn/, 'production';

9. /tt/ : /tɒttɒ/, 'significance', /uttɒr/, 'reply';

10. /tk/ : /sitkar/, 'shout', /utkɒt/, 'extreme';

11. /tph/ : /utphullɒ/, 'joyous';

12. /tth/ : /utthan/, 'rise', /utthapɒn/, 'raising, mention';

13. /tkh/ : /utkhat/, 'topsy-turvy, disorder';

14. /ts/ : /bɒtsɒ/, 'Son ! an address to male issues',
/itsa/, 'desire', /utsɒ/, 'high',
/sikitsa/, 'medical treatment';

15. /tx/ : /utxɒ/, 'source, spring',
/utxaɦ/, 'encouragement';

16. /tm/ : /atma/, 'soul', /atmiɒ/, 'relative';

17. /tn : /zɒtnɒ/, 'effort', /rɒtnɒ/, 'jewel', /pɒtni/, 'wife';

18. /tr/ : /tran/, 'safty', /tripti/, 'satisfaction',
/zatri/, 'passenger, visitor to a temple';

19. /tj/ : /tjag/, 'abandonment, sacrifice', /xɒtjɒ/, 'truth';

20. /kt/ : /xɒkti/, 'strength, force', /bɒkta/, 'orator',
/ukti/, 'saying', /bɦɒkti/, 'devotion';

21. /kk/ : /mɒkka/, 'Mecca', /dɦakka/, 'sudden push';

22. /kkh/ : /lɒekkhɒ/, 'aim', /dɒekkhɒta/, 'dexterity',
/muikkhɒ/, 'primary, main';

23. /ks/ : /ɒksa/, 'picture', /riksa/, 'rickshaw';

24. /km/ : /rukmini/, '*Rukmiṇī*, wife of Lord *Krishna*';

25. /kr/ : /krɒm/, 'serial order', /kria/, 'work, activity', /bikri/, 'sell', /akrɒmɒn/, 'invasion, attack';

26. /kl/ : /klanti/, 'fatigue', /klex/, 'pain, sorrow', /xuklɒ/, 'white';

27. /kj/ : /bakjɒ/, 'speech, sentence', /ɔikjɒ/, 'unity';

28. /bb/ : /sabbis/, 'twenty-six', /nɔbbɔi/, 'ninety';

29. /bd/ : /xɒbdɒ/, 'sound, word', /zɒbdɒ/, 'siezure', /xɒtabdi/, 'century, era';

30. /bbɦ/ : /xɒebbɦɒta/, 'civilization', /ɒebbɦax/ 'practice'

31. /bdɦ/ : /nistɒbdɦɒ/, 'quiet, silent';

32. /bz/ : /kubzɒ/, 'hunch-backed';

33. /br/ : /brɒɦma/, '*Brahmā*, the creator', /tibrɒ/, 'severe' /bibriti/, 'statement';

34. /bl/ : /tɒbla/ ~ /tɒbɒla/, '*tablā*, a musical instrument';

35. /bj/ : /bjɒe/, 'expenditure', /bjadɦi/, 'disease', /kabjik/, 'poetic, poetical', /xɒmbɦabjɒ/, 'possible';

36. /dd/ : /adda/, 'idle gossip', /uddesjɒ/, 'purpose, aim';

37. /dg/ : /udgirɒn/, 'erruption (as of a volcano)', /xɒdgɔti/, 'proper use';

38. /dbɦ/ : /udbɦɒb/, 'origin';

39. /ddɦ/ : /uddɦɒt/, 'uncontrollable, restless', /uddɦar/, 'rescue', /buddɦi/, 'intelligence, cleverness';

40. /dgɦ/ : /udgɦatɒn/, 'exploration, discovery';

41. /dm/ : /sɒdmɒ/, 'disguise', /pɒdmini/, 'lotus';

42. /dr/ : /drɒbjɒ/, 'object, thing', /drisjɒ/, 'scenery', /bɦɒdrɒ/, 'gentle, mild', /sidrɒ/, 'flaw';

43. /dj/ : /bidja/, 'learning', /adjɒ/, 'initial, first';

44. /dw/ : /dwadɒx/, 'twelfth', /ɦɔridwar/, 'Hardwar';

45. /gg/ : /ɒeggɒ/, 'ignorant', /zɒeggɒ/, 'sacrifice', /diggɒz/, 'a huge elephant' ;

46. /gdɦ/ : /dɒgdɦɒ/, 'burnt', /mugdɦɒ/, 'charmed', /bidɒgdɦɒ/, 'learned' ;

47. /gm/ : /zugmɒ/, 'even (as number)' ;

48. /gɲ/ : /ɒgɲi/, 'fire', /lɒgɲɒ/, 'auspicious moment', /mɒgɲɒ/, 'submerged, absorbed' ;

49. /gr/ : /grɒɦɒɲ/, 'eclipse', /grɒɦɒ/, 'planet', /grismɒ/, 'summer', /agrɒɦ/, 'eagerness', /bigrɒɦ/, 'idol' ;

50. /gl/ : /glani/, 'abuse' ;

51. /gj/ : /gjan/, 'knowledge', /gjati/, relative', /ɒgjɒ/, 'ignorant', /bigjan/, 'science' ;

52. /thj/ : /pathjɒ/, 'lesson', /kɒthjɒ/, speakable, spoken' ;

53. /khm/ : /xukhmɒ/, 'fine', /lɒkhmɒn/, '*Lakṣmaṇa*' ;

54. /khn/ : /tikhnɒ/, 'sharp' ;

55. /khr/ : /khristabdɒ/, 'the Christian era', /zisukhristɒ/, 'Jesus Christ' ;

56. /kɦj/ : /kɦjati/, 'fame', /ɒkhjɒr/, 'letter', /bikhjat/, 'famous' ;

57. /bɦr/ : /bɦrɒm/, 'illusion', /bɦritjɒ/, 'servant', /xubɦrɒ/, 'white, pure', /ɒbɦrɒ/, 'mica' ;

58. /bɦj/ : /xɒbɦjɒ/, 'civilized', /ɒbɦjax/, 'practice' ;

59. /dɦr/ : /dɦrubɒ/, '*Dhruva*', also, 'the Pole star', /uddɦriti/, 'citation' ;

60. /dɦj/ : /dɦjan/, 'meditation', /adɦja/, 'chapter' ;

61. /gɦɲ/ : /bigɦɲɒ/, 'danger', /kritɒgɦɲɒ/, 'ungrateful' ;

62. /gɦr/ : /gɦran/, 'smell', /bjagɦrɒ/, 'tiger' ; /gɦritɒ/, 'butter-oil' ;

63. /sp/ : /spɒstɒ/, 'clear', /spɒrxɒ/, 'touch', /puspɒ/, 'flower' ;

64. /st/ : /stɒmbɦɒ/, 'post, pillar', /stɒbdɦɒ/, 'amazed', /xɒsta/, 'cheap', /ɒstɒm/, eighth';

65. /sk/ : /skɒndɦɒ/, 'shoulder', /skul/, 'school (Eng.)', /abiskar/, 'invention, discovery', /pɔriskar/, 'clean';

66. /sph/ : /sphɔtik/, 'transparent', /sphurɒn/, 'development', /asphalɒn/, 'shouting';

67. /sth/ : /sthan/, 'place', /ɒsthir/, 'restless', /astha/, 'confidence';

68. /skh/ : /skhɒlɒn/, 'slipping off, down-fall';

69. /ss/ : /issɒr/, 'God', /bissɒ/, 'the universe', /nissɒe/, 'certainly';

70. /sm/ : /smɒrɒn/, 'recollection', /smriti/, 'reminiscence'; /bɦɒsmɒ/, 'ash', /ɒkɒsmat/, 'suddenly';

71. /sn/ : /snan/, 'bath', /snigdɦɒ/, 'pure, unblemished', /bisnu/, '*Vishṇu*', /prɒsnɒ/, 'question';

72. /sr/ : /srɒm/, 'labour', /sri/, 'beauty', /bisram/, 'rest', /ɔsru/, 'tears';

73. /sl/ : /slagɦa/, 'praise', /ɒslil/, 'vulgar', /bislexɒn/, 'analysis';

74. /sj/ : /sjam/, 'Siam', /xisjɒ/, 'disciple', /bɒsjɒta/, 'subjugation';

75. /sw/ : /swami/, 'husband, owner', /swad/, 'taste', /goswami/, '*Goswāmī*', /biswax/, 'faith';

76. /zr/ : /bɒzrɒ/, 'thunder-bolt';

77. /zj/ : /zjuti/, 'light', /xɒzjɒ/, 'tolerance', /uzjɒ/, 'not mentioned, understood';

78. /ɦb/ : /aɦban/, 'challenge, invitation';

79. /ɦkh/ : /duɦkhɒ/ ~ /dukkhɒ/, 'sorrow, pain, labour';

80. /ɦx/ : /duɦxɒɦɒ/, 'unbearable',
/duɦxaxɒn/, '*Duhśāsana*';

81. /ɦm/ : /brɒɦmɒputrɒ/, '*Brahmaputra*, the river';

82. /ɦn/ : /bɒɦni/, 'fire', /aɦnik/, 'daily';

83. /ɦr : /ɦrɒd/, 'lake', /ɦridɒe/, 'heart',
/ɦrax/, 'decrease',
/xuɦrid/, 'intimate friend, intimate';

84. /ɦl/ : /prɒɦlad/, '*Prahlāda*', /aɦlad/, 'joy';

85. /mp/ : /xɒmpɔtti/, 'wealth', /xɒmpɒd/, 'wealth, goods', /kɛmp/, 'camp',
/lɛmp/ ~ /lɛm/, 'lamp';

86. /mt/ : /simta/, 'forceps',
/namtidɔl/, 'a place name in Assam';

87. /mb/ : /xɒmbɒl/, 'wealth, belonging',
/kɒmbɒl/, 'rug';

88. /mph/ : /xamphɒl/, 'success';

89. /mbɦ/: /kumbɦir/, 'crocodile', /xɒmbɦu/, '*Śiva*';

20. /mm/ : /zɒmmu/, 'Zammu, a district in Kashmere',
/aɦɒmmɒkh/, 'fool';

91. /mr/ : /mritju/, 'death',
/ɒmrit/, 'nectar', /ɒmrita/, 'papaya';

92. /ml/ : /mlan/, 'gloomy',
/ɒmlɒ/, 'sour taste';

93. /mj/ : /mjad/, 'limit', /rɒmjɒ/, 'beautiful',
/kamjɒ/, 'desirable';

94. /nt/ : /ɒntɒ/, 'end', /sinta/, 'thought, thinking',
/xɒntan/, issue',
/sint/, 'Think !';

95. /nd/ : /anɒndɒ/, 'joy', /mɒndir/, 'temple', /kand/, 'Cry !';

96. /ng/ : /kanɒngu/, '*Kānangu*, a revenue officer';

97. /nth/ : /kɒnthɒ/, 'neck, /xɒntha/, 'association';

98. /ndɦ/ : /ɒndɦɒ/, 'blind', /xɒndɦia/, 'evening', /pondɦ/, 'the end of the *dhuti* tucked in behind';

99. /ns/ : /pɒnsɒn/, 'fifth', /ɒnsɒl/, 'area';

100. /nz/ : /anza/, 'curry', /xɒnzɒe/, '*Sañjaya*, a proper name';

101. /nm/ : /zɒnmɒ/, 'birth', /xɒnmɔti/, 'consent';

102. /nn/ : /ɒnnɒ/, 'cooked rice', /axɒnnɒ/, 'imminent';

103. /nr/ : /nripɔti/, 'king', /nritjɒ/, 'dance';

104. /nj/ : /njai/, 'justice', /ɒnjɒ/, 'other', /binjax/, 'analysis';

105. /ŋt/ : /lɛŋta/, 'naked', /pɛŋti/, 'a lame woman';

106. /ŋk/ : /ɒŋkɒ/, 'arithmetic', /xɒŋka/, 'doubt';

107. /ŋg/ : /ɒŋgɒ/, 'limbs', /xɒŋgi/, 'companion';

108. /ŋkh/ : /xɒŋkhɒ/, 'conch', /paŋkha/, 'fan';

109. /ŋgɦ/ : /lɒŋgɦɒn/, 'violation', /xɒŋgɦɒ/, 'union';

110. /ŋs/ : /bɒŋsidɦɒr/ ~ /bɒŋxidɦɒr/, 'a proper name for man';

111. /ŋz/ : /xɒŋzam/, 'restraint, control';

112. /ŋx/ : /ɒŋxidar/, 'share-holder', /bɒŋxɒ/, 'family lineage';

113. /ŋɦ/ : /xiŋɦɒ/, 'lion', /xɒŋɦɔti/, 'integration, unity';

114. /ŋŋ/ : /reŋŋun/, 'Rangoon';

115. /rp/ : /dɒrpɒ/, 'pride', /ɒrpɒn/, 'offering';

116. /rt/ : /bɒrtɒman/, 'at present, now', /barta/, 'news', /sart/, 'shirt';

117. /rk/ : /kɒrkɒx/, 'harsh, rude';

118. /rb/ : /pɒrbɒt/, 'mountain', /pɒrbɒ/, 'festival';

119. /rd/ : /pɒrda/, 'curtain', /phɒrdi/, 'list';

120. /rg/ : /bɒrgɒ/, 'square', /sɒrgɒ/, 'heaven';

121. /rph/ : /karphai/, 'a cross-bow';

122. /rth/ : /ɒrthɒ/, 'meaning', /bjɒrthɒ/, failure';

123. /rkh/ : /murkhɒ/, 'fool';

124. /rbɦ/ : /gɒrbɦɒ/, 'inside, pregnancy, womb';

125. /rdɦ/ : /ɒrdɦɒ/, 'half', /bɒrdɦitɒ/, 'increased';

126. /rgɦ/ : /ɒrgɦa/, 'a small vessel used in worship';

127. /rs/ : /arsi/, 'looking-glass', /parsi/, 'Persian', /ɒrs/, 'Worship !';

128. /rz/ : /arzɒn/, 'earning', /bɒrzɒn/, 'boycott', /arz/, 'Earn !';

129. /rx/ : /ɒrxɒ/, 'piles', /dɒrxɒn/, 'visit, philosophy';

130. /rɦ/ : /ɒrɦɒta/, 'qualification', /burɦi/, 'old (woman), /pɒrɦ/, 'Read !';

131. /rm/ : /dɦɒrmɒ/ 'religion', /kɒrmi/, 'active';

132. /rn/ : /bɒrnɒna/, 'description', /durnam/, 'infamy';

133. /rl/ : /durlɒbɦ/, 'rare, difficult to get';

134. /lp/ : /gɒlpɒ/, 'story', /kɒlpɒna/, 'imagination';

135. /lt : /balti/, 'bucket', /ulta/, 'up side down';

136. /lk/ : /ulka/, 'comet';

137. /lg/ : /phalgun/, 'name of an Assamese month', /phɒlgu/, 'name of a river':

138. /ldɦ/ : /bɒldɦi/ ~ /bɒlɔdɦi/, 'bullock',
/ɦaldɦi/ ~ /ɦalɔdɦi/, 'turmeric';

139. /lm/ : /balmiki/, '*Vālmīki*, the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa*';

140. /ln/ : /alna/, 'cloth stand';

141. /ll/ : /xollɒ/, 'sixteen', /alla/, 'God';

142. /lj/ : /muljɒ/, 'value, price', /maljɒ/, 'garland'.

2.46 Three-consonant clusters illustrated.

1. /spr/ : /spriŋ/, 'spring (Eng.)', /nispran/, 'lifeless';
2. /str/ : /stri/, 'woman, wife', /ɒstrɒ/, 'weapon';
3. /skr/ : /skru/, 'screw (Eng.)', /niskriɒ/, 'inactive',
/xɒŋɒskrit/, 'Sanskrit';
4. /smr/ : /smriti/, 'recollection',
/bismriti/, 'forgetfulness';
5. /ntr/ : /xɒntrax/, 'terror', /zɒntrɒ/, 'machine';
6. /ndr/ : /sɒndrɒ/ 'the moon';
7. /ndɦ/ : /ɒndɦrɒ/, '*Andhra*, a south Indian state';
8. /ntj/ : /ɒntjɒ/, 'final';
9. /ndj/ : /ɒgnimandjɒ/, 'indigestion';
10. /ndɦj/ : /xɒndɦja/, 'evening',
/bɒndɦja/, 'sterile woman';
11. /ŋgj/ : /xɒŋgja/, 'definition, consciousness';
12. /ŋgɦj/ : /ɒlɒŋgɦjɒ/, 'unconquerable, insurmountable';
13. /ŋkhj/ : /xɒŋkhja/, 'number', /xaŋkhjɒ/, *Sāṅkhya*, a system of Indian Philosophy';
14. /mpr/ : /xɒmprɔti/, 'at present, now';
15. /mbɦr/ : /xɒmbɦrɒm/, 'prestige, respect'.

2.50 The Aspirates.

2.51 The stops.

The aspirated stop in Assamese has been interpreted as phonetically complex unit phoneme. There are six aspirates, viz. / ph th kh bɦ dɦ gɦ / which occur initially before vowels, intervocally, in clusters medially and after vowels finally. The phoneme /dɦ/ occurs in final cluster after /n/.

These aspirates may also be treated as clusters of stop plus the aspiration / ɦ / since there is no contrast between an aspirated stop and a stop plus / ɦ / that can make a cluster in the language. But the distributional pattern of the aspirated stops is more similar to that of a single stop phoneme than to that of a cluster. As for example,

(a) Initially before / j / either a single stop or an aspirated stop may occur, but not a cluster. (See § 2.4111).

(b) Medially aspirated stop occurs in positions that parallel the distribution of a single stop. Compare, /balti/, 'a bucket', /ɦaldɦi/, 'turmeric' ; but no other three-consonant cluster with / lt / or / ld / as first two members occurs. Also, / ndr / and /ndɦr/, /ndj / and / ndɦj /, / ŋgj / and / ŋgɦj /, but no other four member clusters are permitted.

(c) Final clusters are very rare, but final aspirated stops are common ; and those final clusters that do occur,—e.g. / kand /, '(you, fam.) Cry !' —are paralleled by similar clusters with an aspirated stop instead of a single stop, e.g. / kandɦ /, 'shoulder', etc.

(d) Another very important structural symmetry in phonology of the language may be maintained by interpreting the aspirated stops as unit phonemes. The vowels / ɛ ɒ / have limitations in their distribution : they never occur before / i u / either in contact or when they are separated by a single consonant other than the nasals. This restriction in distribution disappears when they are separated by clusters of two or more consonants, but remains when the intervening consonant is an aspirated stop ; thereby proving that the aspirates are unit single phonemes and not clusters.

(e) Phonetically, too, the length or the time duration in production of single consonants and aspirates seems to be equal inlike environments.

2.52 The aspirated / rɦ / and / ŋɦ /.

These two aspirated consonants do not behave the same manner as the aspirates discussed above.

They never form clusters with any other consonants; and their distributions are also very much limited. Phonetically they have the length of clusters and thus differ from the aspirates.

/ rɦ / occurs intervocally and finally after vowels, never initially; and / ŋɦ / occurs intervocally only. The former betrays the characteristics of the aspirates as discussed in § 2.51(d) above.

Another noticeable feature of the cluster / rɦ / is that the two phonemes / r ɦ / may be separated or either one of them be lost in free variation; e.g.

/burɦa/ ~ /bura/, 'old, old man';

/burɦi/ ~ /buri/, 'old woman',

/birɦa/ ~ /bira/, 'big (louse)',

/murɦa/ ~ /mura/, 'stool made of bamboo and cane',

/barɦ/ ~ /bar/ ~ /baɦ/, 'prepare dishes (for meals)',

/barɦɒui/ ~ /baɦɒni/ 'broom',

/pɔrɦise/, ~ /pɔɦise/ '(he) is reading', etc.

Therefore, seems arbitrary[1] to some extent though, / rɦ / and / ŋɦ / have been treated as clusters in the present analysis.

---

1. Dr. M. B. Emeneau comments, "However you interpret / rɦ / and / ŋɦ /, the distribution is different from that of any other phoneme or class of phonemes. You must in effect, be arbitrary either way."

3.00 The Vowels.

3.10 There are eight vowel phonemes in Assamese. They are presented in a tabular form below[1].

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Higher-mid	e		o
Lower-mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	ɒ

3.11 Types of contrasts.

The eight vowels present three different types of contrasts as follows :

A. Eight-way contrasts in closed syllables, and in open syllables when / i u / do not follow in the next immediate syllable with intervention of a single consonant except the nasals.

B. Six-way contrats in open syllables with / i / occurring in the immediately following syllable with intervention of any single consonant except the nasals, or except with nasalization.

C. Five-way contrasts in open syllables when / u / occurs in the immediately following syllable with a single consonant intervening.

The contrasts between the pairs / e ɛ / and / ɒ ɔ / in B, and / e ɛ /, / ɒ ɔ / and / o u / in C are neutralized.

---

1. The phoneme / a / may be placed in the front vowel column to conform a neat structural symmetry ; but the phonetic actualizations and their distributions are very much different from those of the front vowels. And therefore, no attempt has been made for such a stretched symmetry.

3.12 The contrasts A, B and C are shown in the following table.

Vowels	Contrasts	A	B	C
i	...	i	i	i
e	...	e	e	e
ɛ	...	ɛ	...	...
a	...	a	a	a
ɒ	...	ɒ	...	...
ɔ	...	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
o	...	o	o	...
u	...	u	u	u
Total : 8	:	8	6	5

3.13 The Contrasts illustrated.

3.1310 A : Eight-way contrasts :

(1) / i / : /bil/, 'small lakes', /bis/, 'Fan !' ;

(2) / e / : /bel/, 'bell (Eng.)', /bes/, 'Fine !' ;

(3) / ɛ / : /bɛl/, 'a kind of fruit', /bɛs/, 'to sell' ;

(4) / a / : /bal/, 'pubic hair', /bas/, 'to choose' ;

(5) / ɒ / : /bɒl/, 'strength', /bɒt/, 'to grind' ;

(6) / ɔ / : /bɔl/, 'Let's go !', /kɔt/, 'where' ;

(7) / o / : /bol/, 'colour', /kot/, 'coat (Eng.)' ;

(8) / u / : /bul/, 'to walk, move', /kut/, 'to gnaw'.

3.1311 B : Six-way contrasts :

(1) / i / : /bʰiniʰi/, 'brother-in-law' ;
/misiri/, 'sugar-candy' ;

(2) / e / : /abeli/, 'afternoon', /petu/, 'intestine';

(3) / a / : /mɒdaɦi/, 'drunkard', /akax/, 'sky';

(4) / ɔ / : /rɔdali/, 'sunny', /alɔɦi/, 'guest';

(5) / o / : / bɦogi/ ~ /bɦugi/, 'one who enjoys';

(6) / u / : /bɦugi/, 'having suffered', /guti/, 'fruit'.

3.1312 C : Five-way contrasts :

(1) / i / : /ritu/, 'season', /iti/, 'the end, finish';

(2) / e / : /renu/, 'pollen', /eti/, 'one (small piece)';

(3) / a / : /ranu/, 'name of a girl', /ati/, 'bundle';

(4) / ɔ / : /pɔtu/, 'expert', /ɔti/, 'too much';

(5) / u / : /buku/, 'breast', /uti/, 'having floated'.

3.20 Distribution of the vowels.

3.21 The following table presents the distributional behaviour of the vowels. C is Consonant, — marks the position of the vowel, and the arrow shows the area of free variation.

Vowels :	—Ci	—Ce	—Cɛ	—Ca	—Cɒ	—Cɔ	—Co	—Cu
i :	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
e :	e	e	?	e	e	e	e	e
ɛ :	..	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	..
a :	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ɒ :	..	ɒ	ɒ	ɒ	ɒ	ɒ	ɒ	..
ɔ :	ɔ	ɔ	?	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
o :	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	..
u :	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u

It has been clear from the above table that the phonemes / i e a ɔ u / have no limitation in distribution: they occur in all positions, initially, medially and finally, followed or preceded by any consonant or consonant clusters or a vowel. The vowels / ɛ ɒ o / have certain limitations as discussed below.

3.22 / ɛ /. It occurs:

(a) In closed syllables, e.g.

/tɛl/, 'oil', /pɛt/, 'belly', /sɛk/, 'to sieve';

/khɛlna/, 'toys, play things', /ɒlɛkh/, 'innumerable';

/xɒŋkɛt/, 'indication', /lɛŋta/, 'naked', etc.

(b) In open syllables when it is followed by /e ɛ a ɒ ɔ o/ in the next immediate syllable with a cluster or a single consonant intervening. It freely varies with / e / when followed by / e ɔ o / in the immediately following syllable[1]; e.g.

/mɛkhɛ́la/, 'Assamese skirt', /xɛmɛka/, 'wet, moistened';

/lɛkhɒn/, 'writing', /ɛ̀dal/, 'one piece (of something round)';

/mɛle/ ~ /mele/, '(he) opens', /tɛteli/ ~ /teteli/, 'tamarind';

/lɛkhɒni/ ~ lɛkhɔni/ ~ lekhɔni/, 'pen', also, 'writing';

/dɛkhon/ ~ /dekhon/, 'an interjection expressing unexpectedness'.

3.23 / ɒ /. It has certain limitation in distribution.

(a) It occurs in all positions except in open syllables followed by / i u / in the next immediate syllable with intervention of a single consonant other than the nasals in which case it freely varies with / ɔ /, and with nasalization. E.g.

/salɒni/ ~ /salɔni/, 'a sieve',

/dɦɒnu/ ~ /dɦɔnu/, 'bow', etc.

---

1. The structure CVCe/eC, though not rare, is not very frequent in the language. Ci/uCe/eC occurs in most cases in proper names borrowed from Sanskrit.

But, note the following where the nasalized /ɒ̃/ does not vary ; e. g.

/mɒrɒ̃ti/, 'damned woman, an abusive term used to call a woman' ;

/kɒrɒ̃ti/, 'a female doer of an action' ;

/xɒ̃kia/, 'to cause (some body) to remember' ; etc.

(b) It freely varies with / ɔ / when preceded or followed by another / ɔ /, or followed by / o / in the immediately neighbouring syllable with intervention of any single consonant ; e.g.

/ɦɔbɒ/ ~ /ɦɔbɔ/, '(it) will become', or, '(it) is enough' ;

/pɒlɔria/ ~ /pɔlɔria/, 'fugitive' ;

/zɒlɔɦu/ ~ /zɔlɔɦu/, 'a careless man (regarding dress)' ;

/lɔbɒ/ ~ /lɔbɔ/, '(he) will take' ;

/bɒnɔria/ ~ /bɔnɔria/, 'wild' ;

/bɒlo/ ~ /bɔlo/, '*Balorāma*, a proper name' ;

/bɒko/ ~ /bɔko/, 'Bako, a place name' ; etc.

3.24 / o / has the following limitations in distribution :

(a) It freely varies with / u / when preceded by / i u / in vowel clusters, or, when / i / follows in the next immediate syllable with a single consonant intervening ; e.g.

/gopi/ ~ /gupi/, 'wife of a *Gopa*' ;

/xonit/ ~ /xunit/, 'blood' ;

/rogi/ ~ /rugi/, 'patient' ;

/roɦini/ ~ /ruɦini/, '*Rohiṇī*, the *nakṣatra*', also, 'a female name' ;

/diõ/ ~ /diũ/, '(I) give' ;

/xio/ ~ /xiu/, 'he also' ;

/dioa/ ~ /diua/, 'the act of giving' ;

/dekhuoa/ ~ /dekhuua/, 'the act of showing' ; etc.

(b) It never occurs in an open syllable followed by / u / in the next immediate syllable with intervention of a single consonant.

3.30 Vowel Allophony : Common allophones.

3.31 All the eight vowels / i e ɛ a ɒ ɔ o u / have the nasalized allophones [i̤ e̤ ɛ̤ a̤ ɒ̤ ɔ̤ o̤ ṳ] respectively when they are,

(a) preceded by :

(i) the class nasals / m n ŋ /, and

(ii) / ɦ / following a nasalized vowel ; or,

(b) preceded or followed by nasalized vowels in vowel clusters[1]. E.g.

m[i̤]n[ɔ̤]ti, /minɔti/, 'entreaty, request' ;

seŋ[e̤]li, /seŋeli/, 'very clever, sly';

m[ɛ̤]n[ɛ̤]zar, /mɛnɛzar/, 'manager (Eng.)' ;

m[a̤]n[ṳ]ɦ, /manuɦ/, 'man';

m[ɒ̤]rɒm, /mɒrɒm/, 'love and affection' ;

n[o̤]doka, /nodoka/. 'fat and flabby' ;

ɦãɦ[i̤], /ɦãɦi/, 'laughter' ;

gɦẽɦ[ṳ], /gɦẽɦu/, 'wheat' ;

gɦãɦ[ɒ̤]n[i̤], /gɦãɦɒni/, 'lawn, a field full with grass' ;

d[i̤]ɒ̃ti, /diɒ̃ti/, 'a giver (woman)' ;

---

1. Phonetically these nasalized allophones of the vowels are very weakly nasalized in contrast to the heavy or full nasalization of the phoneme of nasalization / ~ /. Because of this difference in degree of nasalization that it has been possible to distinguish phonemically nasalized vowels from the phonetically nasalized allophones occurring contiguously to the nasal vowels in vowel clusters.

n[i̤]ɒ̃ti, /niɒ̃ti 'a woman who takes';

[e̤]ɒ̃ra, /eɒ̃ra/, 'a couple of four';

tĩ[a̤], /tĩa/, 'a parakeet';

kɛ̃[a̤], /kɛ̃a/, 'a *Mārowārī* businessman';

sĩ[ɒ̤]r, /sĩɒr/, 'shouting';

sĩ[ɔ̤]ri, /sĩɔri/, 'having shouted';

gɦɒ̃ɦ [e̤], /gɦɒ̃ɦe/, '(he) rubs'; etc.

All the higher vowels when nasalized are slightly lowered; and nasalized / ã / is a little fronted.

3.32 / e ɛ a ɒ ɔ o u / have allophones with palatal glides, i.e. [e^{e}_{Λ} $\varepsilon^{e}_{\Lambda}$ a^{e}_{Λ} $\mathrm{ɒ}^{e}_{\Lambda}$ $ɔ^{e}_{\Lambda}$ o^{e}_{Λ} u^{e}_{Λ}] respectively when they are followed by a consonant cluster with / j / as the last member; e.g.

b[e^{e}_{Λ}]sja, /besja/, 'prostitute';

al[$\varepsilon^{e}_{\Lambda}$]khjɒ, /alɛkhjɒ/, 'picture';

b[a^{e}_{Λ}]kjɒ, /bakjɒ/, 'speech, sentence';

x[$\mathrm{ɒ}^{e}_{\Lambda}$]ndɦja, /xɒndɦja/, 'evening';

b[$ɔ^{e}_{\Lambda}$]sjɒ, /bɔsjɒ/, 'obedient';

p[o^{e}_{Λ}]sjɒ, /posjɒ/, 'tamed, adopted';

x[u^{e}_{Λ}]njɒ, /xunjɒ/, 'empty, zero';

p[u^{e}_{Λ}]njɒ, /punjɒ/, 'virtue'; etc.

3.33 The front and the back vowels are a little centralized as [i> e> ɛ> ɒ< ɔ< o< u<] and the central vowel is raised as [a^] when they are preceded by / r / in a consonant cluster ; e.g.

tr[i>]n, /trin/, 'grass' ;

pr[i>]ti /priti/, 'affection, love' ;

pr[e>]t, /pret/, 'spirit' ;

tr[ɛ>]ta, /trɛta/, 'the *Tretā* age' ;

pr[ɒ<]tap, /prɒtap/, 'velour, power' ;

bikr[ɒ<]m, /bikrɒm/, velour' ;

pr[ɔ<]tima, /prɔtima/, 'image, idol' ;

kr[o<]dh̃, /krodh̃/, 'anger' ;

tr[u<]ti, /truti/, 'short-comings' ;

kr[u<]r, /krur/, 'cruel' ;

xɒŋkr[a^]nti, /xɒŋkranti/, 'last day of the month' ;

sipr[a^]ŋ, /sipraŋ/, 'a small shovel for digging earth' ;

tr[a^]n, /tran/, 'safty, rescue' ; etc.

3.34 Very slightly glottalized allophones of all the vowels occur optionally in utterance initial positions ; e.g.

['i]kɒra, /ikɒra/, 'weed' ;

['e]tia, /etia/, 'now' ;

['ɛ]k, /ɛk/ 'one' ;

['a]kax, /akax/, 'sky' ;

['ɒ]kɒle, /ɒkɒle/, 'all alone' ;

['ɔ]bisar, /ɔbisar/, 'injustice' ;

['o]kalɔti, /okalɔti/, 'profession of a lawyer' ;

['u]ttɒm, /uttɒm/. 'the best' ; etc.

3.35 Preceded by the voiceless spirants / s x /, all vowels start voiceless and then become fully voiced : voicelessness of the high vowels / i u / being longer than the others. After / x / they are also a little raised from their respective height ; e.g.

x[i]tɒl, /xitɒl/, 'cool, cold',

s[i]la, /sila/, 'kite',

x[e]tu, /xetu/, 'bridge',

s[e]lu, /selu/, 'pretext',

x[ɛ]na, /xɛna/, 'soldier',

s[ɛ]lɛk, /sɛlɛk/, 'to lick',

x[a]muk, /xamuk/, 'snail',

s[a]kɒrɒni, /sakɒrɒni/, 'maid servant',

x[ɔ]muɦ, /xɔmuɦ/, 'a collection',

s[ɔ]ru, /sɔru/, 'cooking pot',

x[o]la, /xola/, 'toothless',

s[o]la, /sola/, 'a sewn garment for upper part of the body, shirt, bodice',

x[u]kur, /xukur/, 'Fri-(day)',

s[u]li, /suli/, 'hair',

ax[a], /axa/, 'hope',

bis[a]r, /bisar/, 'search', etc.

3.36 All vowels have different degrees of length, which is allophonic, according to their position of occurrences in a word. They are also tense in closed syllables, tenser still when preceded by voiceless consonants.

3.40 Vowel allophones : their phonetic values and distribution.

The different allophones of the vowels, besides those discussed in the above section, have been presented below.

3.41 High front unrounded / i /.

/ i / : [i i^{i}_{Λ} ɪ $\underset{\Lambda}{i}$].

[i] : A high front vowel, tense ; occurs in closed syllables. It is fairly high when preceded and followed by the velar consonants ; and slightly lower between other consonants ; e.g.

k[i]t, /kit/, 'insect',

p[i]k, /pik/, 'spittle',

d[i]k, /dik/, 'direction',

t[i]r, /tir/, 'bank',

p[i]ttɒ, /pittɒ/, 'bile',

udbɦ[i]d, /udbɦid/, 'trees and plants',

xɒŋg[i]t, /xɒŋgit/, 'music',

barx[i]k, /barxik/, 'annual, yearly', etc.

[i^{i}_{Λ}] : A lower high front vowel with an [$\underset{\Lambda}{i}$] glide ; occurs with or without a preceding consonant and followed by any lower vowel, either front or back, in a vowel cluster ; e.g.

[i^{i}_{Λ}]e, /ie/, 'this itself',

z[i^{i}_{Λ}]ɐk, /ziɐk/, 'daughter, (his) daughter',

z[i^{i}_{Λ}]a, /zia/, 'living',

p[i^{i}_{Λ}]ɒn, /piɒn/, 'peon, post-man',

bɦat[i^{i}_{Λ}]ali, /bɦatiali/, 'westerly', also, a *rāga*,

sɒrɔt[i^{i}_{Λ}]a, /sɒrɔtia/, 'a (former) one anna piece',

phukɒnɒn[i^{i}_{Λ}]e, /phukɒnɒnie/, 'Mrs. Phukan' (Nom.), etc.

[ɪ] : A lower high front vowel, lenis ; occurs in open syllables ; e.g.

m[ɪ]lɒn,, /milɒn/, 'union, getting together',

orɒn[ɪ], /orɒni/, 'veil',

k[ɪ]tap, /kitap/, 'book',

bɦ[ɪ]n[ɪ]ɦ[ɪ], /bɦiniɦi/, 'brother-in-law, husband of the elder sister',

b[ɪ]man, /biman/, 'aeroplane',

ɔdɦ[ɪ]kar, /ɔdɦikar/, 'head of a *Satra* institution in Assam',

ɔt[ɪ]baɦ[ɪ]tɒ, /ɔtibaɦitɒ/, 'past, bygone', etc.

[i̯] : It is a voiced palatal glide, phonetically equal to [j]; occurs after the vowels / e a ɔ u / in unstressed positions. It is lower a little in open syllables after / a / and freely varies with still lower [e̯] in the same environment; also, nasalized after nasal vowels; e. g.

e[i̯], /ei/, 'this one (referring to a female)',

e[i̯]k, /eik/, 'to this woman',

gɔle[i̯], /gɔlei/, '(he) has gone already',

ze[i̯]e, /zeie/, 'whoever',

xe[i̯]a, /xeia/, 'that one over there',

a[i̯~e̯]e, /aie/, 'mother' (Nom.),

kã[i̯]t, /kãit/, 'thorn',

ɒgɦa[i̯]t, /ɒgɦait/, 'expert (in bad sense)',

ga[i̯]ɒk, /gaiɒk/, 'singer',

ma[i̯]a, /maia/, 'illution, affection',

da[i̯]i, /daii/, 'defaulter, offender, accused',

na[i̯]ika, /naiika/, 'heroine', (of a novel or play),

a[i̯]o, /aio/, 'mother also',

dɔ[i̯], /dɔi/, 'curd',

madɔ[i̯]e, /madɔie/, 'the chief queen (Nom.)',

barɦɔ[i̯]k, /barɦɔik/, 'to the carpenter',

xɔ[i̯]nik, /xɔinik/, 'soldier',

zu[i̯], /zui/, 'fire',

lu[i̯]t, /luit/, '*Luit*, a name of the river *Brahmaputra*',

du[i̯]o, /duio/, 'both, the two together',

zu[i̯]t, /zuit/, 'in the fire', etc.

3.42 The mean-mid front vowel / e /.

/ e / : [e e̯].

[e] : A mean-mid front vowel, unrounded ; a bit tense in closed syllables and slightly lower and less tense in open syllables ; e.g.

t[e]kh[e]t, /tekhet/, 'he (very respectable)',

b[e]d, /bed/, 'the Vedas',

ɒbɦ[e]d, /ɒbɦed/, 'undivided, not separated',

d[e]xasar, /dexasar/, 'local customs',

k[e]bɒl, /kebɒl/, 'only',

mɛl[e], /mɛle/, '(he) opens',

manuɦ[e], /manuɦe/, 'man (Nom.)', etc.

[e̯] : A mid-palatal glide ; occurs after / a / and / ɒ / in unstressed positions : [ae̯] before junctures only, while [ɒe̯] may occur medially or finally ; e.g.

kha[e̯], /khae/, '(he) eats',

napa[e̯], /napae/, '(he) does not get',

lɔra[e̯], /lɔrae/, 'the boys (Nom.)',

mɒ[e̯], /mɒe/, 'I',

rɒ[e̯], /rɒe/, '(he) stays', also, 'Mr. Roy',

kɒ[e̯]na, /kɒena/, 'bride',

mɒ [e̯]na, /mɒena/, 'dear one', also, 'name of a singing bird',

xɒ[e̯]kia, /xɒekia/, 'Mr. Saikia',

dɒ[e̯]a, /dɒea/, 'kindness',

xɒ[e̯]ɒn, /xɒeɒn/, 'sleeping, act of sleeping',

mɒ[e̯]o, /mɒeo/, 'I also',

nɒkɒ[e̯]o, /nɒkɒeo/, '(he) does not say also', etc.

3.43 The lower-mid front unrounded vowel / ɛ /.

/ ɛ / : [ɛ $ɛ_{\text{̯}}$ $ɛ^{e}_{\text{̯}}$].

[ɛ] : A lower-mid front unrounded vowel ; occurs in closed syllables, and in open syllables when it is followed by / ɛ a ɒ / in the immediately following syllable ; e.g.

ɒl[ɛ]kh, /ɒlɛkh/, 'innumerable, many',

b[ɛ]l, /bɛl/, 'a kind of fruit',

g[ɛ]d, /gɛd/, 'sediment',

[ɛ]k, /ɛk/, 'one',

put[ɛ]k, /putɛ̀k/ 'son, (his) son',

t[ɛ]l[ɛ]ka, /tɛlɛka/, 'big (of eyes)',

xɒŋk[ɛ]t, /xɒŋkɛt/, indication, signal',

b[ɛ]tɒni, /bɛtɒni/, 'cane field', etc.

[ɛ^] : Very slightly higher than [ɛ], occurs when it is followed by / e o ɔ / in the immediately following syllable ; e.g.

s[ɛ^]kɒni, /sɛkɔni/, 'a sieve',

m[ɛ^]le, /mɛle/, '(he) opens',

t[ɛ^]teli, /tɛteli/, 'tamarind',

kh[ɛ^]lõ, /khɛlõ/, '(I) play',

bɦ[ɛ^]kola, /bɦɛkola/, 'male frog', etc.

[$\varepsilon^{e}_{\wedge}$] : With a palatal glide [$^{e}_{\wedge}$] following the lower-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] ; occurs in vowel clusters with a following / a / ; e.g.

b[$\varepsilon^{e}_{\wedge}$]a, /bɛ̆a/, 'bad',

k[$\tilde{\varepsilon}^{e}_{\wedge}$]a, /kɛ̃a/, 'a *Mārwāri* businessman', etc.

3.44 The low central vowel / a /.

Its allophonic range extends from low central to slightly back and raised in quality.

/ a / : [$a^{e}_{\wedge}$ $a^{ɔ}_{\wedge}$ a^ a].

[$a^{e}_{\wedge}$] : It is slightly fronted and followed by the palatal glide [$^{e}_{\wedge}$] ; occurs when followed by / ɛ / in a vowel cluster ; e.g.

z [$a^{e}_{\wedge}$]ɛk, /zaɛk /, 'the relationship among the wives of the brothers of a family'.

l [$a^{e}_{\wedge}$]ɛk, /laɛk/, 'suitable, qualified' etc.

[$a^{ɔ}_{\wedge}$] : It is slightly back and followed by the velar glide [$^{ɔ}_{\wedge}$] ; occurs when it is followed by / ɒ ɔ / in vowel clusters ; e.g.

kh[$a^{ɔ}_{\wedge}$]ɒn, /khaɒn /, 'eating, the act of eating',

kh[$a^{ɔ}_{\wedge}$]ɔria, /khaɔria/, 'a voracious eater', etc.

[a^]. Slightly back and raised, it occurs when preceded by / ɔ / in the neighbouring syllable ; e.g.

kɔl[a^], /kɔla/, 'black',

nɒkɔl[a^], /nɒkɔla/, '(you) did not say',

lɔr[a_{Λ}], /lɔra/, 'boy',

rɔd [a^]li, /rɔdali/, 'sunny', etc.

[a]: A low central vowel, slightly fronted before / i /; occurs in environment other than the following :

(a) after / Cr /, and the nasals, (See §§ 3.31, 3.33),

(b) utterance initially, (§ 3.34),

(c) before / (C)Cj /, (§ 3.32).

E.g. l[a]i, /lai/, 'indulgence',

d[a]il, /dail/, 'pulse', also, 'very poisonous',

t[a]r, /tar/, 'his'

bik[a]x, /bikax/, 'development',

bɦed[a]bɦed, /bɦedabɦed/, 'difference',

bɦ[a]lɒr, /bɦalɒr/, 'of good',

z[a]luk, /zaluk/, 'black pepper',

b[a]ki, /baki/, 'due, remaining, credit', etc.

3.45 The low back vowel / ɒ /.

It is the lowest of the back rounded vowels in the language. Its allophonic range is a little higher and back than that of / a /.

/ ɒ / : [ɒ^ ɒ].

[ɒ^] A little raised, back and very slightly rounded ; occurs when, (i) in the neighbouring syllable it is—

(a) preceded by the vowels / i e ɔ o u /,

(b) preceded by velar or bilabial consonants,

(c) followed by / e ɔ o /;

Or, (ii) in the final open syllable ; e.g.

nib [ɒ^], /nibɒ/, '(he) will take',

bed[ɒ^]t, /bedɒt/, 'in the Vedas',

kɔb[ɒ^], /kɔbɒ/, '(he) will say',

os[ɒ^]r, /osɒr/, 'near, proximity',

pur[ɒʌ]n, /purɒn/, 'multiplication',

k[ɒ^]re, /kɒre/, '(he) does',

t[ɒ^]lɔtia, /tɒlɔtia/, 'subordinate',

b[ɒ^]ko, /bɒko/, 'Bako, a place name',

k[ɒ^]thor, /kɒthor/, 'hard, difficult',

p[ɒ^]lɒm, /pɒlɒm/, 'delay, late',

ɒm[ɒ^]l, /ɒmɒl/, 'stainless, clean',

x[ɒ^]k[ɒ^]t, /xɒkɒt/, 'fat, bulky',

par[ɒ^], /parɒ/ 'pigeon',

kas[ɒ^], /kasɒ/, 'tortoise' etc.

[ɒ] : A lower back rounded vowel, occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

t[ɒ]kɒla, /tɒkɒla/, 'bald headed',

d[ɒ]ra, /dɒra/, 'bridegroom',

t[ɒ]r[ɒ]p, /tɒrɒp/, 'layer, fold, stratum',

dɦ[ɒ]pat, /dɦɒpat/, 'tobacco', etc.

3.46 The mean-mid back rounded vowel / ɔ /.

The allophones of this phoneme are much closer and higher than those of / ɒ /. It is comparatively longer than any other vowels in closed monosyllables, and rarely occurs with the phoneme of nasalization / ˜ /. In closed syllables it is a little fortis, and elsewhere, lenis ; e.g.

k[ɔ]t, /kɔt/, 'where',

b[ɔ]l, /bɔl/, 'Let's go !',

r[ɔ]d, /rɔd/, 'sun shine',

k[ɔ]li, /kɔli/, 'black (woman)', also, 'flower bud',

s[ɔ]tur, /sɔtur/, 'clever',

b[ɔ]ɦag, /bɔɦag/, '*Bahāg*, the first month of the Assamese year',

l[ɔ]ra, /lɔra/, 'boy',

m[ɔ]i, /mɔi/, 'harrow',

k[ɔ]ira, /kɔira/, 'a kind of bird',

t[ɔ]u, /tɔu/, 'brass vessel for cooking purpose',

s[ɔ]uka, /sɔuka/, 'woven',

nit[ɔ]u, /nitɔu/, 'always', etc.

3.47 The lower high back rounded vowel[1] / o /.

/ o / : [o $\underset{\wedge}{o}$ ʊ $o^{\wedge}$ $u^{\wedge}$].

[o] : A back higher low rounded vowel with close lip-rounding ; slightly fortis in closed and lenis in open syllables ;

e.g. k[o]t, /kot/, 'coat (Eng.)',

bɦ[o]k, /bɦok/, 'hunger',

t[o]l[o]tha, /tolotha/, 'the horizontal beam of the hand loom',

bɦ[o]da, /bɦoda/, 'simpleton',

p[o]rɒni, /porɒni/, 'burning, burning sensation', etc.

[$\underset{\wedge}{o}$] : A non-syllabic glide [$\underset{\wedge}{o}$]=[w]; occurs as the last member in vowel clusters with / i e ɛ a ɒ o u / as the preceding member.

---

1. The back vowels / ɔ / and / o / appear to be of almost equal height ; the former is a little retracted, and the latter has more lip rounding.

It is slightly high [u̯] which may freely vary with still higher [u] after / i u /; may be nasalized as [õ̯] or [ũ̯ ũ] when it is phonemically nasalized or contiguous to nasalized vowels ; e.g.

xɛ[o̯], /xɛo/, 'subordination',

dɛ[o̯], /dɛo/, 'spirit',

tɛ[õ̯], /tɛõ/, 'he (respectful)',

kha[õ̯], /khaõ/, '(I) eat',

na[õ̯], /nao/, 'boat',

lo[o̯], /loo/, 'iron also',

nɛ[õ̯]ta, /nɛota/, 'counting table', or 'table of numbers',

xɛ[õ̯]ta, /xɛõta/, 'parting of hair on the head',

ba[o̯]na, /baona/, 'dwarf',

bɦa[o̯]na, /bɦaona/ 'theatrical performance',

ma[õ̯]ra, /maora/, 'destitute, parentless',

xo[õ̯]ta, /xoõta/, 'sleeping person',

dekhua [õ̯]ta, /dekhuaõta/, 'a guide, one who shows',

ni[õ̯~ũ̯], /niõ/, '(I) take', etc.

[o^o] : It is accompanied by a short glide [o̯]; occurs when it is preceded by a consonant and followed by the vowels / e a ɒ ɔ /; e.g.

x[o^o]e, /xoe/, '(he) sleeps',

bɒl[o^o]e, /bɒloe/, 'Baloram (Nom.)',

k[o$^{\wedge}$]a, /koa/, 'saying, act of saying',

p[o$^{\wedge}$]ali, /poali/, 'sibling, issue, calf',

x[o$^{\wedge}$]ɒn, /xoɒn/, 'sleeping, act of sleeping',

x[o$^{\wedge}$]ɔni, /xoɔni/, 'sleeping (adj.)',

kɒr[o$^{\wedge}$]a, /kɒroa/, '(you, pol.) cause to do',

pɛl[o$^{\wedge}$]a, /pɛloa/, 'the act of throwing away',

xɛ[o$^{\wedge}$]a, /xɛoa/, 'salutation',

dɛ[o$^{\wedge}$]e, /dɛoe/, 'the spirit (Nom.)',

ta[o$^{\wedge}$]a, /taoa/, 'frying pan',

gã[õ$^{\wedge}$]ɒr, /gãoɒr/, 'of the village',

nɒkɒ[õ$^{\wedge}$]ei, /nɒkɒõei/, '(I) do not say at all',

kɒr[oo$^{\wedge}$]a, /kɒrooa/, 'the act of causing to do',

pi[ʊ$^{\wedge}$]a, /pioa/, 'the act of causing to drink',

khu[ʊ$^{\wedge}$]a, /khuoa/, 'the act of feeding', etc.

3.48 / u / . It is the most retracted and close high vowel. It is very high and tense [u] when preceded by velar consonants, fairly high and tense in closed, and relatively lenis in open syllables ; e.g.

x[u]sthɒ, /xusthɒ/, 'healthy',

kh[u]r, /khur/, 'blade, razor',

m[u]l, /mul/, 'root, main, basic',

k[u]k[u]r, /kukur/, 'dog',

t[u]la, /tula/, 'cotton',

p[u]rɔni, /purɔni/, 'old, ancient', etc.

[u̯] : A non-syllabic consonantal realization of the high back rounded vowel / u /; occurs in vowel clusters as the last member (in two-vowel clusters), preceded by / i e a ɔ u /; may be nasalized when preceded by a nasal; e.g.

zi[u̯], /ziu/, 'life',

zi[u̯]t, /ziut/, 'in the life',

de[u̯], /deu/, 'priest',

de[u̯]ta, /deuta/, 'father, my father',

la[u̯], /lau/, 'gourd',

dɦɔ[u̯], /dɦɔu/, 'wave',

mɔ[u̯], /mɔu/, 'honey',

da[u̯]k, /dauk/, 'a kind of bird',

za[u̯]ri, /zauri/, 'swarm',

lɔ[u̯]kik, /lɔukik/, 'folk (adj.)',

kɔ[u̯]tuk, /kɔutuk/, 'fun',

mɔ[u̯]khik, /mɔukhik/, 'oral',

gɔr[uu̯], /gɔruu/, 'the cow also',

put[uu̯], /putuu/, 'Putu also',

nɔ[u̯]ka, /nɔuka/, 'boat',

sɔ[u̯]da, /sɔuda/, 'soda',

de[u̯] ti, /deuti/, 'a term of endearment for small child',

xa[u̯]ni, /xauni/, '*Śāuṇī*, a name of a girl born in the month of *Śāuṇ*', etc.

[u^{u}_{Λ}] : A high back rounded vowel followed by a very short high back rounded glide [$\underset{\Lambda}{u}$] ; occurs when it is followed by the lower vowels / e a ɔ / in clusters ; e.g.

gɔr[u^{u}_{Λ}]e, /gɔrue/, 'the cow (Nom.)',

pɔr[u^{u}_{Λ}]a, /pɔrua/, 'ant',

g[u^{u}_{Λ}]aɦati, /guaɦati/, 'Gauhati',

k[$\tilde{u}^{\tilde{u}}_{\Lambda}$]ɔli, /kũɔli/, 'fog, mist',

x[u^{u}_{Λ}]ɔui, /xuɔni/, 'beautiful',

de[u^{u}_{Λ}]e, /deue/, 'the priest (Nom.)',

gɦɔr[u^{u}_{Λ}]a, /gɦɔrua/, 'domestic',

kɦɔt[u^{u}_{Λ}]a, /kɦɔtua/, 'employ', etc.

3.50 Vowel Clusters.

5.51 The following chart presents the two-vowel clusters in the language.

	i	e	ɛ	a	ɒ	ɔ	o	u
i	ii	ie	iɛ	ia	iɒ	iɔ	io	iu
e	ei	ee	—	—	—	eɔ	eo	eu
ɛ	—	—	—	ɛa	ɛɒ	—	ɛo	—
a	ai	ae	aɛ	aa	aɒ	aɔ	ao	au
ɒ	—	ɒe	—	—	ɒɒ	—	ɒo	—
ɔ	ɔi	—	—	—	—	—	—	ɔu
o	—	oe	—	oa	oɒ	oɔ	oo	—
u	ui	ue	—	ua	uɒ (?)	uɔ	uo	uu

3.5110 Phonemically there are no diphthongs[1] although / i e o u / form phonetic diphthongs in unstressed positions after another vowel, or in between vowels (cf. allophony).

The geminates / ii ee oo uu / may not, and / aa / never, form two syllable nucleii each : one member becomes syllabic and the other occurs as a glide (cf. allophones of / i e o u /).

3.5111 There are nineteen two-vowel clusters that form two syllable nucleii in all occurrences : e.g.

/ ie iɛ ia iɒ iɔ ɛa ɛɒ aɛ aɒ aɔ /, and,

/ ɒɒ oe oa oɒ oɔ ue ua uɒ uɔ /.

There may be clusters of as many as five vowels. There are only two vowel nucleii in clusters of three or four vowels, and three vowel nucleii in clusters of five vowels.

The following three-vowel clusters may occur :

Preceded by	...	Followed by
/ i a o u /	...	/ ei /,
/ i ɛ o u /	...	/ ai / ~ / ae /,

---

1. That there is no phonemic diphthong in the language has been proved by the evidence that the vowel of the negative morpheme nɛ- is never assimilated to the phonetic diphthong immediately following the initial consonant or consonant cluster of the verb (See also § 8.252310). e.g.

affirmative		*negative*
zaõ, '(I) give',	...	nazaõ,
dɛkhõ, '(I) see',	...	nɛdɛkhõ,
diõ, '(I) give',	...	nidiõ,
xunõ, '(I) hear',	...	nusunõ, etc.
but, gɔisilõ, '(I) went',	...	nagɔisilõ,
lɔi, 'having taken',	...	nalɔi,
dɔuro̱, '(I) run',	...	nadɔuro̱, etc.

The above examples show that the diphthongs are phonemically not unit features ; they are clusters of vowels only.

Preceded by	...	Followed by
/ i u /	...	/ ɔi /, / eo /,
/ i o /	...	/ ɒe /,
/ a /	...	/ io / and / iu /,
/ i o u /	...	/ ao /,
/ i a o /	...	/ ɒo /.

The following four-vowel clusters are permitted :

/ ei / preceded by / ei io iu ai ao ɒe ɒo ɔi ɔu ui /, and

/ ai / preceded by / io ei ɐo ɔi /.

The following five-vowel clusters also occur :

/ aiuei / and

/ uaiei /.

3.52 The Vowel Clusters illustrated.

3.5210 The two-vowel clusters.

/iɐ/ : /diɐ/, '(he) gives',

/phukɒnɒnie/, 'Mrs. Phukan (Nom.)',

/nɔdie/, 'the river (Nom.)', etc.

/iɛ/ : /ziɛk/, 'daughter, his daughter',

/diɛk/, 'a few', etc.

/ia/ : /ɦia/, 'heart',

/manɒnia/, 'respectable (woman)',

/ragial/, 'angry, enraged',

/xial/, 'fox', etc.

/iɒ/ : /kiɒ/, 'why',

/piɒn/, 'peon, post-man',

/mɔriɒni/, '*Mariani*, a place name', etc.

/iɔ/ : /ziɔri/, 'daughter',
/biɔli/, 'afternoon',
/niɔmia/, 'regular',
/zagiɔlia/, 'a man belonging to *Jāgī*', etc.

/io/ : /xio/, 'he also',
/nidiõ/, '(I) do not give',
/diõta/, 'a giver, payer', etc.

/iu/ : /ziu/, 'life',
/ziut/, 'in the life', etc.

/ei/ : /ei/, 'this one (of a female)',
/eik/, 'to this woman',
/keita/, 'how many', etc.

/ee/ : /rɒee/, 'Mr. Roy (Nom.)',
/bɦabee/, 'Mr. Bhabe (Nom.)', etc.

/eɔ/ : /deɔlia/, 'insolvent',
/keɔlia/, 'those who have abandoned worldly pleasures', etc.

/eo/ : /kɔleo/, 'in spite of telling',
/dɦɒneo/, 'money also', etc.

/eu/ : /deu/, 'priest',
/deuk/, 'to the priest',
/deuta/, 'father, my father', etc.

/ɐa/ : /bɐa/, 'bad',
/kɐ̃a/, 'a *Mārwārī* businessman', etc.

/ɐo/ : /kɐo/, 'any body',
/xɐo/, 'subjugation',
/tɐõr/, 'his', etc.

/ai/ : /ai/, 'mother, my mother',
/kãit/, 'thorn',
/dɒkait/, 'dacoit, robber', etc.

/ae/ : /khae/, '(he) eats',
/pɒrɦae/, '(he) teaches', etc.

/aɛ/ : /zaɛk/, 'the relationship among the wives of the brothers of the same family',
/laɛk/, 'suitable, qualified', etc.

/aa ; /maa/, 'mother, my mother',

/aɒ/ : /khaɒ/, '(you, fam.) eat',
/khaɒn/, 'the act of eating',
/daɒr/, 'cloud',
/khaɒni/, 'boarding (expenses)', etc.

/aɔ/ : /khaɔria/, 'voracious eater',
/daɔria/, 'cloudy', etc.

/ao/ : /nao/, 'boat',
/xitao/, '*Sītā* also',
/paona/, 'due to be received back',
/bɦaona/, 'theatrical performance', etc.

/au/ : /lau/, 'gourd',
/laut/, 'in the gourd',
/kauri/, 'crow', etc.

/ɒe/ : /kɒe/, '(he) says',
/ɦɒrɒe/, 'Mr. Harakanta (Nom.)',
/kɒena/, 'bride',
/zɒen/, 'origin', etc.

/ɒɒ/ : /lɒɒ/, '(you, fam.) take',
/thɒɒ/, '(you, fam.) place,' etc.

/ɒo/ ; /ɦɒrɒo/, 'Mr. Harakanta also',
/lɒõ/, '(I) take, etc.

/ɔi/ : /arɔi/, 'unparboiled',
/kɔbɔlɔi/, 'to say',
/madɔir/, 'of the principal queen',
/thɔila/, 'big sack', etc.

/ɔu/ : /ɔu/, 'wood apple',
/nitɔu/, 'always',
/dɔur/, 'race, run',
/xɔuka/, 'whip',
/ɒlɔukik/, 'miraculous, strange', etc.

/oe/ : /xoe/, '(he) sleeps',
/nodɦoe/, '(he) does not wash',
/loe/, 'iron (Nom.)',
/bɒloe/, 'Mr. Baloram (Nom.),' etc.

/oa/ : /koa/, '(you, polite) say',
/kɒroa/, 'to cause to do'.
/doan/, 'unwritten dialect',
/kɒtoal/, 'executioner',
/soali/, 'girl',
/goal/, 'cowherd,' etc.

/oɒ/ : /roɒ/, '(you, fam.) plant',
/xoɒn/, 'sleeping, the act of sleeping',
/xoɒni/, 'sleeping (adj.)' etc.

/oɔ/ : /boɔti/, 'flowing, current',

/xoɔni/, 'sleeping' (adj.), etc.

/oo/ : /loo/, 'iron also',

/kɒrõo/, '(I) do also',

/pɒrɦooa/, 'the act of teaching, teaching', etc.

/ui/ : /ũi/, 'white ant',

/zui/, 'fire',

/luit/, '*Luit*, a name of the river *Brahmapūtra*',

/luitɒr/, 'of the *Luit*', etc.

/ue/ : /xɔrue/, 'the small one (Nom.)',

/gɔrue/, 'the cow (Nom.)', etc.

/ua/ : /dɦɔrua/, 'a debtor',

/asɔɦua, 'strange',

/guaɦati/, 'Gauhati', etc.

/uɒ/ : /suɒr/, 'hog'.

/uɔ/ : /xuɔni/, 'beautiful',

/suɔni/, 'an impure place where refuse is dumped',

/põɔti/, 'dawn, very early morning', etc.

/uo/ : /gɔruo/, 'the cow also,'

/dekhuoa/, 'the act of showing', etc.

/uu/ : /dekhuua/, 'the act of showing',

/xuuuua/, 'the act of causing to listen',

/bɔɦuua/, 'the act of causing to sit', etc.

3.5211 Illustration of three-vowel clusters.

/iei/ : /iei/, 'this man (emphatic)',
/ziei/, 'whichever',
/diei/, 'having given',
/nɔdiei/, 'the river itself (emphatic)', etc.

/aii/ : /daii/, 'accused, offender',
/naiika/, 'heroine (of a play or a novel)',
/njaiik/, 'judicial', etc.

/oei/ : /xoei/, '(you, fam.) Sleep right now !',
/bɒloei/, 'Baloram himself', etc.

/uei/ : /xɔruei/, 'the small one itself', etc.

/iai/ : /xiai/, 'having sewn',
/ziai/, 'living, alive', etc.

/ɛai/ : /bɛai/, 'the bad one (Nom.)',
/kɛ̃ai/, 'the *Mārwāri* businessman (Nom.)', etc.

/oai/ : /zoai/, '(you, polite) Go right now !',
/zõai/. 'son-in-law',
/zõair/, 'of the son-in-law', etc.

/uai/ : /khuai, 'having fed',
/xuai/, 'having caused to sleep',
/puai/, 'very early in the morning', etc.

/uae/ : /khuae/, '(he) feeds',
/dɦɔruae/, 'the debtor (Nom.)',
/bɔruae/, 'Mr. Barua (Nom.)', etc.

/iɔi/ : /abiɔi/, 'unmarried',

/biɔi/, 'a term of address between the parents of the bride and the bridegroom',

/thiɔi/, 'standing (adv.)', etc.

/iɒe/ : /diɒe/, '(you, fam.) give right now',

/piɒe/, '(you, fam.) drink right now', etc.

/oɒe/ : /xoɒe/, '(you, fam.) sleep right now',

/dʱoɒe/, '(you, fam.) wash right now', etc.

/aio/ : /aio/, 'my mother also',

/paio/, 'even after getting',

/lɔraio/, 'the boys also', etc.

/aiu/ : /aiu/, 'life, longevity',

/baiu/, 'air, wind',

/aiux/, 'longevity', etc.

/ieo/ : /dieo/, '(he) gives also',

/nieo/, '(he) takes also', etc.

/ueo/ : /gɔrueo/, 'the cow (Nom.) also', etc.

/iao/ : /xiao/, 'root also',

/diaõta/, 'who causes to give',

/diaõ/, '(I) cause to give', etc.

/oao/ : /kɒroaõ/, '(I) cause to do',

/koao/, '(you, polite) say also', etc.

/uao/ : /pɔruao/, 'the ant also', etc.

/iɒo/ : /diɒo/, '(you, fam.) give also',

/ziɒo/, 'life also', etc.

/aɒo/ : /khaɒo/, '(you, fam.) eat also',

/paɒo/, '(you, fam.) get also', etc.

/ɒɒo/ : /xɒɒo/, '(you, fam.) sleep also',
/nodɦɒɒo/, '(you, fam.) do not wash also', etc.

3.5212 Four-vowel clusters illustrated.

/eiei/ : /zeiei/, 'whoever',

/ioei/ : /diõei/, '(I) give right now',

/iuei/ : /ziuei/, 'life itself',

/aiei/ : /aiei/, 'mother alone',
/paiei/, 'immediately after receiving',

/aoei/ : /naoei/, 'the boat itself',

/ɒeei/ : /rɒeei/, 'Mr. Roy himself',

/ɒoei/ : /thɒõei/, '(I) place right now',

/ɔiei/ : /madɔiei/, 'the chief queen herself',

/ɔuei/ : /dɦɔuei/, 'the waves (emphatic)',

/ɯiei/ : /zɯiei/, 'fire alone',

/ioai/ : /sɒkɔlioai/, 'having caused to make slices',

/eiai/ : /eiai/, 'this alone',
/xeiai/, 'that alone',

/ɛɔai/ : /xɛoai/, 'service alone',
/dɛoai/, 'having burnt (in baking or frying)',

/ɔiai/ : /mɔiai/, 'having harrowed',
/gɦɔiai/, 'having struck with a cutting instrument',
etc.

3.5213 Examples of five-vowel clusters.

/aiɯei/ : /aiɯei/, 'even the life itself (emphatic)',
/baiɯei/, 'air itself (emphatic)',
/snaiɯei/, 'the nerves themselves (emphatic)', etc.

/uaiei/ : /khuaiei/, 'just having fed',
/ɲɔsuaiei/, 'just having caused to dance',
/gɦɔtuaiei/, 'just having defeated', etc.

3.60 The Phoneme of Nasalization : /˜/.

3.61 The phoneme of nasalization occurs with seven out of eight vowels, and with vowel clusters. It can nasalize the contiguous vowels like the class nasals (cf. § 3.31).

3.62 There are contrasts among the phoneme of nasalization and the class nasals / m n ŋ / and no nasalization.

3.63 Distribution of the phoneme /˜/.

The position of occurrences of the phoneme of nasalization /˜/ is, to some extent, limited ; for, it occurs, in most cases, in the initial or the second syllable. Occurrences in other syllables are not rare, but very few ; and so far, I have recorded the vowel / ɔ̃ / only which occurs in positions other than the initial or the second syllable.

3.64 The following shows the contrasts among the phoneme of nasalization, the nasals and no nasalization.

3.6410 Contrasts among /i/ : /ĩ/ : /m n ŋ/.

/gɦĩu/, 'butter oil' : /ziu/, 'life',

/ɲĩa/, 'parakeet', : /tia/, '(you, fam.) wet',

/xĩar/, 'to make faces', : xiar/, 'of roots',

/sĩɔri/, 'having shouted', : /xiɔri/, 'standing on end (as hair)',

/sĩ sĩ/, 'chattering of birds' : /si si/, 'an interjectional expression of disgust',

/sin/, 'sign, spot',

/xima/, 'boundary',

/xiŋ/, 'horn',

/tiɔni/, 'bath towel',

/ɲiam/, '(I) shall cause to bring',

/xian/, 'clever, sly', etc.

3.6411 Contrasts among /ẽ/ : /e/ : /m n ŋ/.

/ɦẽsi/, 'having pressed', : /besi/, 'having sold',

/sẽi/, 'pods', : /sei/, 'an utterance to drive away dogs',

/sẽuri/, 'she-calf', : /deuri/, 'priest, also, a distributor of *prasāda*',

/xeun/, 'nasal flow',

/neul/, 'mangoose',

/benu/, 'flute',

/temi/, 'small vessel for keeping lime',

/teŋɔri/, 'sly (woman)', etc.

3.6412 Contrasts among /ɛ̃/ : /ɛ/ : /m n ŋ/.

/ɦɛ̃sa/, 'pressure', : /ɦɛla/, 'negligence',

/xɛ̃ota/, 'parting of hair', : /dɛona/, 'fencing',

/kɛ̃a/, '*Mārwārī* businessman,' : /bɛa/, 'bad',

/bɛ̃ka/, 'bent', : /dɛka/, 'young, youthful',

/bɛŋ/, 'frog',

/lɛŋta/, 'naked',

/tɛma/, 'small can',

/tɛnte/, 'then', etc.

3.6413 Contrasts among /ã/ : /a/ : /m n ŋ/.

/ãɦɒt/, 'banyan tree' : /aɦɒt/, wounded',

/pãs/, 'five, : /pas/, 'behind, hind',

/ãɦ/, 'fibre', : /aɦ/, 'to come',

/sã/, 'shadow, shade', : /sa/, '(you, fam.) Look !',

/ɦãi/, 'Alas!', : /ɦai/, 'noise',

/kãit/, 'thorn', : /thait/, 'in the place',

/ãɔria/ 'hysteria', : /khaɔria/, 'voracious eater',

/sam/, '(I) shall see',

/san/, 'to plot',

/saŋ/, 'machang', etc.

3.6414 Contrasts among /ɒ̃/ : /ɒ/ : /m n ŋ/.

/ɒ̃/, 'yes', an expression of assent', : /ɒ/, 'an expression of awe and wonder'.

/ɒ̃ra/, 'a couple of four', : /ɒka/, 'the *Akā* tribe of Assam',

/xɒ̃sa/, 'true, truth', : /gɒsa/, 'lamp-stand',

/xiɦɒt̃/, 'they', : /kiɦɒ̃t/, 'in what',

/xɒnsɒe/, 'savings',

/pɒnsɒm/, 'fifth',

/gɒŋga/, 'the Ganges',

/kɒmbɒl/, 'rug', etc.

3.6415 Contrasts among /õ/ : / /o/ : /m n ŋ/.

/xõ/, 'right (side)', : /xo/, (you, fam.) Sleep!',

/kɒrõta/, 'a doer', : /bɒroda/, '*Barodā*, the city',

/zõai, 'son-in-law', : /zoae/, '(you, polite) go right now',

/gõar/, 'obstinate', : /goar/, 'of singing',

/bɔkhɔliaõ/, '(I) peel off', : /xon/, 'gold',

/dõ/, 'hanging down, low', : /dom/, 'the fisherman community',

/doŋ/, 'canal',

/don/, 'a measure of about 4.5 kilograms', etc.

3.6416 Contrasts among /ũ/ : /u/ : /m n ŋ/.

/ũi/, 'white ant',	:	/zui/, fire',
/gũi/, 'iguana',	:	/dui/, 'two',
/kũɦiar/, 'sugar cane'	:	/kuɦulia/, to entreat',
/kũɔri/, 'queen', also, 'princess',	:	/duɔri/, 'gate keeper',
/kũɦi/, 'new (as a bud)',	:	/xuɦi/, 'having sucked',
/tũɦ/, 'husk',	:	kum/, 'cheek bone',
		/kunti/, '*Kuntī*, mother of the *Pāṇḍavas*', etc.

3.70 The Structure of the Syllable.

3.71 The term syllable has been used freely in the present analysis without any implication of its being a significant unit of the phonology of the language. The syllable in Assamese may be conveniently defined as consisting of a peak of nucleus in a single vowel (V) or a vowel cluster (VV), with or without an on-set[1] of consonants (C) from one to three, and a coda cosisting of one or two consonants. It is open when the vowel nucleus is followed by a juncture or by an interlude of a single consonant ; and closed when there is a coda of one or two consonants.

3.72 The canonical form of the syllable is :

(C) (C) (C) V (V) (C) (C).

There are twenty-four possibilities in the above form out of which the forms with coda in clusters are not very common, and they are extremely rare when the onset also consists of a cluster.

The forms CCCVV(C) and (C)CCV(V)CC do not occur in the language (at least they are not available in the data collected so far).

For illustrations of the forms, see the sections on consonant clusters (§§ 2.45-46) ; and for the onset, coda and interlude, see also §§ 2.20-25.

---

1. The terms onset, coda and interlude are accepted here as defined by Hockett : 1955 : § 22

4.00 Stress

4.10 Word Stress.

There are two phonemic word stresses[1]; e.g.

(i) Primary stress, written as / ' /, and

(ii) Weak stress, phonemically unmarked.

4.11 There is contrast in position rather than degree of stress in a word as both the stresses never occur in identical environment[2].

The position of the primary stress is either first or second syllable.

4.12 Contrasts illustrated.

4.1210 In open syllables; e.g.

/bárɒ/, 'twelve', : /parɒ́/, 'pigeon',

/tɛ́rɒ/, 'thirteen', : /tɛrá/, 'oblique, slanting',

/píse/, '(he) is drinking', : /pisé/, 'then, afterwards',

/nísila/, '(you, pol.) took', : /nisina/, '(you, pol.) do not know', etc.

4.1211 In closed syllables; e.g.

/kándɒ/, 'action, behaviour', : /kandɒ́/, '(you, fam.) weep',

/píndɒ/, 'offering in *Śrāddha* ceremony', : /pindɦɒ́/, (you, fam.) wear,'

---

1. This is the first time that an analysis of stress and juncture of Assamese has been attempted. Dr B. Kakati (1962 : §§ 116–153) deals more with the historical aspect of effect of stress and accent on the development of Assamese words and forms than with the synchronic studies. In the present dissertation, too, I should admit, the stress and juncture analysis has been tentative. Much more work has yet to be done on the subject.

2. In this respect it may bee ompared to English paired words as, conduct : conduct produce : produce, visit : visit, etc. where the stress may be said to be transposed.

/sinte/, '(he) thinks', : /pindɦé/, '(he) wears',

/bándɦɒ/, 'friend',
/bɒ́ndɦɒ/, 'closed', } : /bandɦɒ́/, '(you, fam.) tie',

/gúnda/, 'a vandal', : /bondá/, 'he-cat',

/xántɒna/ 'consolation', : /xantɔnu/, '*Sāntanu*, a proper name',

/sɒndrɒk/, 'to Chandrakanta,' : /zantrík/, 'mechanical', etc.

4.1212 With vowel clusters in the initial syllables; e.g.

/dɔ́inik/, 'daily', : /bɔirág/, 'renunciation',

/xɔ́inikɒr/, 'of soldiers', : /kɔiláxɒr/, 'of *Kailāsh*',

/gɦɔ́iniɛke/, 'the wife (Nom.)', : /bɔináɛke/, 'the bother-in-law (Nom.)', etc.

4.13 Allophones of the stresses and their distribution.

4.1310 The Primany stress.

The primary stress has an allophone [ˊ] which is phonetically characterized by :

(a) maximum loudness of the vowel nucleus,

(b) high pitch, and

(c) length of the vowel which is half long in closed syllables, and longer in open syllables medially, and before juncture finally.

[ˊ] : occurs either on the first or on the second syllable of a word.

4.1311 The weak stress, phonemically unmarked.

The weak stress has the allophones [˄ ˋ ˅ ˬ] arranged according to the descending order of loudness and intensity of the stress. Their distribution depends on the position of the primary stress in the word.

[^] : It is slightly less in intensity of stress than that of the primary stress [´], and is characterized by less loudness. The vowel with this stress is of normal quantity.

It always occurs on the first syllable when it is followed by the primary stress in the immediately neighbouring syllable.

[ˆ] : The intensity of this stress is slightly weaker than that of [^]; the vowel nucleus with it is also a bit less loud, and shorter in closed syllables and half long in open syllables before an open juncture.

It occurs on final syllables.

[ˇ] : Phonetically it is the weakest in intensity and loudness; and the vowel nucleus bearing it is also always very short.

It occurs on the syllable immediately following the primary stress when three or more syllables follow it.

[v] : The intensity and loudness of this stress is slightly more than those of [ˇ] and the vowel nucleus with it is also short.

It occurs elsewhere.

4.14 All allophones illustrated.

[bá·ltì·], /bálti/, 'bucket',

[ká·ndɒ̀·], /kándɒ/, action, behaviour',

[kândɒ́·], /kandɒ́/, '(you, fam.) weep',

[bá:rɒ̀·], /bárɒ/, 'twelve',

[pârɒ́·], /parɒ́/, 'pigeon',

[pí:sè·], /píse/, '(he) is drinking',

[pi̊sé:], /pisé/, 'then, afterwards',

[ní:sv̌ìà·], /nísila/, (you, pol.) took away',

[ni̊sí:nà·], /nisína/, '(you, pol.) do not know',

[mɔ́:rà·], /mɔ́ra/, 'peacock',

[l̥ɔrá:], /lɔrá/, 'boys',

[bɦîni:ɦi·], /bɦiníɦi/, 'brother-in-law',

[xɒrbé·ssɒr], /xɒrbéssɒr/, '*Sarbeswar*, a proper name',

[dɦɒnɒ́·ntɔri·], /dɦɒnɒ́ntɔri/, 'physician',

[ɒxɒ́·ntuxià·], /ɒxɒ́ntuxia/, 'dissatisfied, discontented',

[phûkɒ́·nɒnie·], /phukɒ́nɒnie/, 'Mrs. Phukan (Nom.)',

[pûrú.ɦitali·], /purúɦitali/, 'priesthood',

[mɒɦá·puruxià·], /mɒɦápuruxia/, 'follower of *Mahāpuruṣa* cult', etc.

4.20 Utterance Stress.

There are two stresses that occur in utterance level ; e.g.

(i) Sentence Stress / ˈ /, and

(ii) Emphatic Stress / ˈˈ /.

4.21 Phonetic realization of the stresses.

4.2110 The Emphatic stress / ˈˈ /.

[ˈˈ] : It is phonetically characterized by maximum loudness of the vowel nucleus and very high pitch ; the vowel is long and the intensity of the stress is very great.

4.2111 The Sentence stress / ˈ /.

[ˈ] : Phonetically it is characterized by a little less loudness of the vowel nucleus and less intensity of the stress than those with the emphatic [ˈˈ]. Pitch is also slightly lower. The vowel is long before open juncture, still longer before the terminal junctures and half long elsewhere.

Phonetically, there seems to be no difference between the primary and the sentence stresses.

4.22 Distribution.

4.2210 The sentence stress and the emphatic stress contrast each other in identical environment although both of them do not occur in the same stretch of speech. In other words, in between two phrase junctures or in between a phrase juncture and a terminal pause, there is either a sentence stress or an emphatic stress. They are movable within the utterance to signal different points of attention.

Compare, for example, the following utterances :

(a) / xi ˈgɦɒrɒlɔi gɔl ‖ /, 'He went home' (normal, affirmative).

(a1) / xi ˈˈgɦɒrɒlɔi gɔl ‖ /, 'He went *home*' (emphasis on *home*).

(a2) / ˈˈxi gɦɒrɒlɔi gɔl ‖ /, '*He* went home' (emphasis on *he*).

4.2211 In a longer utterance with phrases, the emphatic stress can replace either one or all the sentence stresses, although the use of only one emphatic stress is a more favourite form than many in a single utterance, generally depending upon the speaker's choice as to what he wants to emphasize.

4.2212 The utterance stress generally occupies the position of the primary stress.

4.2213 Any one of the three stresses, viz. the primary, the sentence and the emphatic, can occur in one word of a phrase or utterance ; and therefore, contrast among them in a single phrase or word is completely lacking.

4.23 Effects on the word stress.

4.2310 As has been discussed above, the sentence stress occupies the position of the primary stress in a word or utterance with hardly any noticeable difference in the resulting emphasis or accent. It does not affect other stress in the same word, but in other words of the same phrase or phrases of the utterance, it has the following effects ;e.g.

(a) The primary stresses of all other words are lowered by one level, i.e. / ˈ / = [ˈ] is replaced by [˄] which is slightly less in loudness and intensity.

(b) Similarly the weak stress is also weakened by one level, i.e. all allophones of the weak stress, phonemically unmarked, phonetically become relatively weak in their positions.

(c) The emphatic stress, too, occupies the position of the primary stress, occasionally the first syllable also, in the word. It has the same effects on the stresses of other words as the sentence stress.

Compare, for example, the following[1] :

(a) /zunɒ́r ˈnɒ tarikhe | kɔˈlikɒtarpɒra lɒ́ndɒnbuli – uˈramarilõ‖ /,
'On June 9, (we) flew from Calcutta to London'.

(a1) /zunɒ́r ˈnɒ tarikhe | kɔˈlikɒtarpɒra lɒ́ndɒnbuli – uˈramarilõ‖/,
meaning same as (a) but with emphasis on *Calcutta*, that is the place of departure.

(a2) /zunɒ́r ˈˈnɒ tarikhe | kɔˈˈlikɒtarpɒra lɒ́ndɒnbuli—uˈramarilõ‖/,
the meaning same as (a) except the emphasis on the date and place of departure, i.e. on (June) *9* and on *Calcutta* respectively.

5.00 Juncture

5.10 The open juncture / + /.

5.11 The phoneme of open juncture / + / has been postulated for conveniences of grouping together the following phonetic details and rendering them predictable ; e.g.

(a) Change in quality and quantity of the phonemes,

(b) Release or non-release of the consonants,

(c) Release of different kinds, such as,

(i) release with slight breath,

(ii) plosive release,

(iii) nasal release,

---

1. The sentences (a) in §4.2310 and (a) in the following section, § 5.2221, are taken from my wife, Srimati Maamoni Goswami's travel accounts of America, published in the ASOM BANI, 1957.

(d) Fortis and lenis qualities of the consonants, and

(e) Pitch features.

For illustration of the above, please refer to the allophones of consonants and vowels labelled as initial and final in the foregoing sections.

5.12 The open juncture always coincides with morpheme boundaries, but the latter is not always marked by / + / ; e.g.

/ xiɦ̃ɒt/, 'they' ('he' plus 'plural', i.e. /xi/ plus /ɦ̃ɒt/),

/ xi'bor + gɔl/, 'they have gone',

/ xi + 'bur + gɔl/, 'he sank down (under water)', etc.

The occurrences of / + / very often depend upon the speed and mode of delivery of speech. Its occurrences are more frequent in slow reading than in normal speech ; while in fast conversation its frequency falls to the minimum.

The open juncture is usually marked by space in phonemic writing.

5.20 Terminal junctures.

5.21 The following terminal junctures occur in the language ; e.g.

(a) Phrase terminals :

(i) Single bar / | /, and,

(ii) Hyphen / - /.

(b) Utterance terminals :

(iii) Falling / ‖ /,

(iv) Rising / ʔ /,

(v) Abrupt rising / ɓ /,

(vi) Holding / # /, and

(vii) Surprise / ! /.

5.22 Phrase terminals : their phonetic characteristics.

5.2210 Single bar juncture / | /.

It is characterized by the following phonetic phenomena :

(a) Final-like allophones of consonants precede and initial-like follow.

(b) Pitch in the preceding word falls to the lowest and sometimes to the low level, and ends in a slight rise.

(c) The vowel in the final syllable of the preceding word is long and drawled out.

(d) Pause or break is long, much longer than in the open juncture / + / or the hyphen juncture / – /.

5.2211 Hyphen juncture / – /.

It is characterized by the following phenomena :

(a) Final-like allophones of consonants precede and initial-like follow.

(b) Pitch in the preceding word ends in a slightly higher level than in single bar juncture, but does not end in an upward rise.

(c) There is always a slight hesitation in this juncture.

(d) Pause or break is slightly longer than in / – / but shorter than in / | /.

5.2212 Single bar and hyphen junctures illustrated.

(a) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrõ̍ŋɒr - poˈkhilabilak | mor ˈbh̃allage ‖/,
'I like the colourful butterflies'.

(b) xí ˈgh̃ɒrɒlɔi zámbuli - xɒˈdae kɔ́ithake ‖/,
'He always says that he would go home'.

(c) koˈlikɒtarpɒra | kaˈliphɒrnialɔi # /,
'From Calcutta to California'.

(d) /zunṍr ˈnɒ taríkhe | koˈlikɒtarpɒra - ˈlɒndɒnbuli - uˈramarilõ ‖/,
'On June 9, (we) flew from Calcutta to London', etc.

5.2220 Distribution of the phrase terminals.

5.2221 The phrase junctures occur in between utterance terminals. Hyphen juncture may have more than one occurrence in a single utterance. / | / may occur more than once provided there is intervention by / – / in between every two occurrences ; e.g.

(a) /éi dɒˈlɒŋkhɒnɒrpɒrai ɦɛno | koˈnoba ɛgɒ́raki zubɔ́tie—xɒmázɒr ˈutpirɒnɒrbabe | ˈatmɒɦɒtja kɔrísil—ˈtemsɒr bukút zápdi ||/

'It is said that some young woman committed suicide, because of some oppression from society, by jumping into the Tames from this bridge'.

Single bar juncture / | / may alternate with hyphen juncture / – / without causing any change in meaning of the same utterance, but not vice versa.

Compare (a) above with (al), and (b) with (bl) below.

(al) /éi dɒˈlɒŋkhɒnɒrpɒrai ɦɛno – koˈnoba ɛgɒ́raki zubɔ́tie – xɒmázɒr ˈutpirɒnɒrbabe | ˈatmɒɦɒtja kɔrísil – ˈtemsɒr bukút zápdi ||/. The meaning, same as (a) above.

(b) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrɔ́ŋɒr – pɔˈkhilabilak | phulé phulé bɒˈgai phuríse ||/.

(bl) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrɒŋɒr – pɔˈkhilabilak – phulé phulé bɒˈgai phuríse ||/.

Both these utterances mean, 'The colourful butterflies are flying over the flowers'.

5.2222 / | / and / – / can be replaced by / + /, but / + / cannot be always replaced either by / – / or by / | /.

When / + / replaces / – / or / | /, all but one of the sentence stresses from the strips of utterance between the phrase junctures are lost ; i.e. only one sentence stress can occur in between two phrase junctures.

Compare the following utterances :

(c) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrɔ́ŋɒr – pɔˈkhilabilak | mor ˈbɦallage ||/.

(cl) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrɔ́ŋɒr pɔkhílabilak—mor ˈbɦallage || /.

(c2) /rɒŋ bɛrɒ́ŋɒr pɔ'khilabilak | mór 'bɦallage ||/.

(c3) /rɒŋ bɛ́rɒ́ŋɒr pɔ'khilabilak mór bɦállage ||/.

All the above utterances mean, 'I like the colourful butterflies'.

5.2223 When the utterance is very long with more than three phrase junctures, then only one phrase juncture is retained for every two : its retention being decided by the sentence stress. There is always a phrase juncture between two sentence stresses. For example, the utterance (a) (in § 5.2221) may be rephrased in the following ways :

(a2) /éi dɒ'lɒŋkhɒnɒrpɒrai ɦɛno konóba ɛgɒ́raki zubɔ́tie – xɒmázɒr útpirɒnɒrbabe 'atmɒɦɒtja kɔrísil – 'temsɒrbukut zápdi ||/.

(a3) /éi dɒ'lɒŋkhɒnɒrpɒrai ɦɛno | konóba ɛgɒraki zubɔ́tie xɒmázɒr 'utpirɒnɒrbabe – 'atmɒɦɒtja kɔrísil 'témsɒrbukut zápdi ||/.

(a4) /éi dɒlɒ́ŋkhɒnɒrpɒrai ɦɛnó kɔ'noba ɛgɒraki zubɔtie – xɒmázɒr útpirɒnɒrbabe 'atmɒɦɒtja kɔrísil – 'temsɒr bukút zápdi ||/.

The maximum number of phrase junctures possible in the above utterance may be shown in the following rephrasing :

(a5) /éi dɒ'lɒŋkhɒnɒrpɒrai ɦɛnó | kɔ'noba ɛgɒ́raki zubɔtie – xamázɒr 'utpirɒnɒrbabe | 'atmɒɦɒtja kɔrísil – 'temsɒr bukút – 'zap dí ||/.

5.2224 Single bar juncture / | / never occurs preceding the terminals /? / or /b/.

The hyphen juncture /–/ may occur in such environment in stead.

Take, for example, the following utterances :

(d) / rɒŋ bɛrɒ́ŋɒr – pɔ'khilabilak | tomár 'bɦallage ||/.
'You (pol.) like the colourful butterflies'.

(d1) /'rɒn bɛrɒ́ŋɒr – pɔ'khilabilak – tomár 'bɦallage ? /.
'Do you (pol.) like the colourful butterflies ?'

(d2) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrɒŋɒr pɔkhílabilak – tomár ˈbɦallage ɔ /.
'You (pol.) like the colourful butterflies !,

(Well, I am really surprised to know that !').

5.23 Utterance Terminals.

5.2310 Falling juncture /||/.

The falling juncture is marked by long vowel in the preceding syllable and low pitch at the end of the utterance. Voice dies slowly.

In normal speech the utterance starts with low pitch. There is a slight rise on the sentence stress and then a fall in the next syllable. Pitch in the beginning of the utterance is slightly higher if the sentence stress occurs on the initial word ; e.g.

(e) /tɛ̃ ˈgɦɒrɒloi gɔ́isil ||/, 'He went home'.

(f) /ˈami kámto kɔrísõ ||/, 'We are doing the work'.

(g) /mɒˈɦabɦarɒtɒr kɒthá – xɒkɔ́loe zané ||/,
'All know about the *Mahābhārata*', etc.

5.2320 Rising juncture / ? /.

In rising juncture / ? / the vowel in the final syllable, i.e. preceding the juncture is very long, much longer than in the falling juncture / || /, and is drawled out. In the final word there is slight fall in pitch and then a rise to higher level than in / | / at the end. Voice dies slowly.

In normal speech the utterance with / ? / starts in low pitch, slightly higher than in / || /. There is slight rise on the sentence stress and then often a gradual fall ; e.g.

(e1) /tɛõ ˈgɦɒrɒloi gɔ́isil ? /, 'Did he go home ?'

(g1) /mɒˈɦabɦarɒtɒr kɒthá – xɒˈkɒloe zané ? /,
'Does every body know about the *Mahābhārata* ?'

(h) /xéigɒraki phuˈkɒnɒni ? /, 'Is that lady Mrs. Phukan ?'

(i) /tumí mók kibá xuˈdɦisila ? /, 'Did you ask me anything?' etc.

There is some similarity in pitch features between the single bar / | / and the rising / ? / junctures. (Phonetic characteristics of the single bar juncture / | / in section § 5.2211 may be compared).

Compare the following contrasts :

(j) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrə́ŋɒr—pɔˈkhilabilak | mór ˈbɦallage ‖ /.
'I like the colourful butterflies'.

(jl) /ˈrɒŋ bɛrə́ŋɒr – pɔ ˈkhilabilak ? mór ˈbɦallage ‖ /.
'(Do you mean) the colourful butterflies ? (Yes,)
I like them'. etc.

5.2330 Abrupt rising juncture / 5 /.

It is characterized by long and drawled out vowel in the final syllable that ends abruptly. Pitch also ends in an abrupt rise.

The final vowel in open syllable occasionally ends in unreleased glottal closure. Final consonants end abruptly, and voice dies quickly.

The utterance starts with low pitch, slightly lower than that with falling juncture. There is a fall on the sentence stress if it is not on the final word, in which case the fall occurs in the beginning of the word ; and there is a gradual rise after that ; e.g.

(e2) / tɛ́ō ˈgɦɒrɒloi gɔ́isil 5/, 'He went home ! (then, what happened ?)',

(hl) / xéigɒraki phuˈkɒɒɒni 5/, 'She is Mrs.Phukan !'
(Well, it is surprising that we could not recognize her !).

(il) / tumí mók kibá xuˈdɦisila 5/, 'You asked me something !', etc.

5.2340 Holding juncture / # /.

In this juncture, the vowel in the final syllable is slightly long provided it is not followed by another holding juncture in the same utterance. There is a very slight gradual fall in pitch, less than that in the falling juncture in the same utterance.

Other features are the same as those with falling juncture / ‖ / ; e.g.

(k) / xéito aˈmar gɦɒr ‡ /, 'That is our house'.

(l) / xéito aˈmar gɦɒr ‡ zaˈna ‡ /, 'That is our house, you know'.

(m) / tṵe ˈgɦɒrɒloi zá ‡ /, 'You, (fam.) go home !', etc.

5.2350 Surprise juncture / ! /.

In this juncture the vowel in the final syllable is very short and the final phoneme ends in glottal closure. Pitch at the end is always very high, voice ends abruptly.

The utterance starts with very high pitch that rises still a little higher on the sentence stress ; e.g.

(m) / xéito ɛtá ˈxap ! /, 'That is a snake (right in front of you ; so, be warned !)'. etc.

6.00 Morphophonemics

6.10 A general note.

Assamese morphophonemics is simple. Consonantal alternation is rare. There is vowel harmony among the lower and the higher vowels : the lower vowels give place to the next higher vowels of both front and back series occurring in the immediately following syllable. This type of vowel harmony is a unique characteristic feature of the language among all the Aryan languages of India.

For example[1] :

/ ɛ / is replaced by / e /,

/ ɒ / .. .. / ɔ /, and

/ o / .. .. / u /.

6.11 The following are the conditions of, or environments for, vowel harmony or morphophonemic alternations.

Occurrences of / i u ɔ / in the following environments :

(A) Contiguous occurrence as a following member in vowel clusters without any intervention ;

(B) Occurrence in the next immediate syllable with intervention of : (i) any single consonant,

(ii) any single consonant except a nasal,

(iii) any nasal consonant.

Environment against vowel harmony :

Vowels with nasalization. Nasalized / ɛ̃ ɒ̃ / are not affected by occurrences of high vowels even in the environments (A) and (B) above.

---

1. Please see limitation in distributions of these vowels in §§ 3.21-24 also.

6.20 The vowel morphophonemes.[1]

6.21 ɛ :

(i) ɛ : / e / when followed by / i u / in environment (B) (ii) ; e.g.

bɛti : /beti/, 'daughter (impolite)', cf. bɛta, 'son',

pɛ́ti : /peti/, 'belt', cf. pɛt, 'belly',

ɛti : /eti/, 'one (dimunitive)', cf. ɛta, 'one',

bɛli : /beli/, 'the Sun', cf. bɛla, 'time',

pɛtu : /petu/, 'intestine', cf. pɛt, 'belly',

mɛluɔi : /meluɔi/, 'councillor', cf. mɛ̂l, 'meeting',

khɛluɔi : /kheluɔi/, 'player', cf. khɛl, 'play',

lɛzu : /lezu/, 'tail', cf. lɛz, 'tail',

dɛkhua : /dekhua/, 'to show', cf. dɛkh, 'to see',

bɦɛkoli : /bɦekuli/, 'frog', cf. bɦɛkola, 'male frog', etc.

(ii) ɛCɛCi/u : /ɛCeCi/u/ ~ /eCeCi/u/ ; e.g.

lɛtɛru : /lɛteru/ ~ /leteru/, 'dirty person', cf. lɛtɛra, 'dirty, dirty person',

sɛrɛli : /sɛreli/ ~ /sereli/, 'ematiated woman', cf. sɛrɛla, 'ematiated,'

dɦɛmɛlia : /dɦɛmelia/ ~ /dɦemelia/, 'farcical, playful', cf. dɦɛmali, 'play, game, fun', etc.

(iii) ɛCɔ : /eCɔ/ ~ /ɛCɔ/, e.g.

bɦɛlɔɦu : /bɦelɔɦu/ ~ /bɦɛlɔɦu/, 'a proper name'.

6.22 ɒ :

(i) ɒa : /oa/ ; e.g.

---

1. The morphophonemes and morphophonemic writings are not enclosed in double diagonals as is done usually : they have been kept bare without enclosures. The first row in the illustrations are morphophonemic writings, and the second row in diagonal enclosures are their phonemic realizations.

lɒa : /loa/, '(you, pol.) take', cf. lɒ, 'to take',

kɒa : /koa/, '(you, pol.) say', cf. kɒ, 'to say, tell', etc.

(ii) ɒɒ : /ɒoɒ/ ~ /ɒɒ/ ~ /ɒ/ ; e.g.

lɒɒ : /lɒoɒ/ ~ /lɒɒ/ ~ /lɒ/, '(you, fam.) take',

kɒɒ : /kɒoɒ/ ~ /kɒɒ/ ~ /kɒ/, '(you, fam.) say',

thɒɒ : /thɒoɒ/ ~ /thɒɒ/ ~ /thɒ/, '(you, fam.) place', cf. thɒ, 'to place, keep', etc.

(iii) ɒi : /ɔi/ in environment (A); e.g.

kɒi : /kɔi/, 'having said', cf. kɒ, 'to speak',

ɦɒisil : /ɦɔisil/, 'had become', cf. ɦɒ, 'to become', etc.

(iv) ɒCi : /ɔCi/ in environment (B) (ii); e.g.

mɒti : /mɔṭi/, 'mind', cf. mɒt, 'consent',

lɒti : /lɔti/, 'creeper', cf. lɒta, 'creeper',

pɒthia : /pɔthia/, 'to send', cf. pɒtha, 'to send', pɒthaõ, '(I) send',

sagɒli : /sagɔli/ 'goat, she-goat', cf. sag, sagɒl, 'goat, he-goat',

purɒthi : /purɔthi/, 'mature, ripe', cf. purɒth, 'mature', etc.

(v) ɒCu : ɔCu in environment (B) (i) ; e.g.

bɒɦua : /bɔɦua/, 'to cause to sit', cf. bɒɦ, 'to sit', bɒɦõ, '(I) sit', bɒɦa, '(You, pol.) sit',

rɒnua : /rɔnua/, 'warrior, soldier', cf. rɒn, 'war',

bɒnua : /bɔnua/, 'labourer, worker', cf. bɒn, 'work',

atɒɦu : /atɔɦu/, 'a proper name',

batɒrua : /batɔrua/, 'traveller',

gɦɒrua : /gɦɔrua/, 'domestic, household', cf. gɦɒr, 'house, family',

bɦikɒɦu : /bɦikɔɦu/, 'beggar', etc.

(vi) ɒCɒCi/u : /ɒCɔCi/u/ ~ /ɔCɔCi/u/ ; e.g.

khɒrɒsi : /khɒrɔsi/ ~ /khɔrɔsi/, 'extravagant', cf. khɒrɒs, 'expenditure',

gɦɒrɒsia : /gɦɒrɔsia/ ~ /gɦɔrɔsia/, 'domestic',

zɒlɒɦua : /zɒlɔɦua/ ~ /zɔlɔɦua/, 'extensive, wide', cf. zɒl, 'water', zɒlaɦ, 'flood water',

lɒgɒria : /lɒgɔria/ ~ /lɔgɔria/, 'companion, friend', cf. lɒg, 'company', also, 'companion',

zɒgɒru : /zɒgɔru/ ~ /zɔgɔru/, 'a proper name for man', also, 'offender, accused', cf. zɒgɒr, 'offence', etc.

(vii) ɔCɒ : /ɔCɔ/ ; e.g.

ɦɔbɒla : /ɦɔbɔla/, 'perhaps',

kɔbɒ : /kɔbɔ/, '(he) will say', cf. zabɒ, '(he) will go',

thɔbɒ : /thɔbɔ/, '(he) will place',

rɔbɒ : /rɔbɔ/, '(he) will wait', etc.

(viii) ɒCɔ : /ɔCɔ/ ~ /ɒCɔ/ ; e.g.

zabɒlɔi : /zabɒlɔi/ ~ /zabɔlɔi/, 'to go (infinitive)', cf. zabɒ, 'to go (also, infinitive)',

kɒribɒlɔi : /kɔribɒlɔi/ ~ /kɔribɔlɔi/, 'to do (Inf.)',

pɒrɦabɒlɔi : /pɒrɦabɒlɔi/ ~ /pɒrɦabɔlɔi/, 'to teach', etc.

(ix) ɒCi : /ɒCi/ ~ /ɔCi/ in environment (B) (iii); e.g.

dɦɒni : /dɦɒni/ ~ /dɦɔni/, 'rich', cf. dɦɒn, 'money, riches, wealth',

mɒrɒmial : /mɒrɒmial/ ~ /mɒrɔmial/ ~ /mɔrɔmial/, 'kind', cf. mɒrɒn, 'kindness,'

phɒni : /phɒni/ ~ /phɔni/, 'comb', etc.

(x) ɒ̃Ci : /ɒ̃Ci/ in environment (C) ; e.g.

zɒ̃tia : /zɒ̃tia/, 'tangled, knotty', cf. zɒ̃t, 'knot',

kɒ̃tia : /kɒ̃tia/, 'dwarf',

diɒ̃ti : /diɒ̃ti/, 'a giver (female)', etc.

6.23 o :

o(C)i/ɔ : /u(C)i/ɔ/[1] ; e.g.

xoi : /xui/, 'having slept', cf. xo, 'to sleep',

olia : /ulia/, 'to bring out', cf. ola, 'to come out',

xãtori : /xãturi/, 'having swum', cf. xãtor, 'to swim',

kõɒri : /kũɔri/, 'princess', cf. kõɒr, 'prince',

dopɒria : /dupɔria/, 'noon', cf. dopɒr, 'noon' etc.

6.24 i :

(i) ii : /ii/ ~ /i/ ; e.g.

diise : /diise/ ~ /dise/, '(he) is giving', cf. di, 'to give',

piise : /piise/ ~ /pise/, '(he) is drinking',

niisil : /niisil/ ~ /nisil/, '(he) took, cf. ni, 'to take',

daii : /daii/ ~ /dai/, 'accused, offender', cf. dai, 'offence',

naiika : /naiika/ ~ /naika/, 'heroine (of a play or novel)',

kaiik : /kaiik/ ~ /kaik/, 'bodily, physical', etc.

(ii) aiɛ : /aiɛ/ ~ /aɛ/ ; e.g.

baiɛk : /baiɛk/ ~ /baɛk/, 'elder sister', cf. bai, 'elder sister', ɛk, 3rd. personal mopheme,

bɦaiɛk : /bɦaiɛk / ~ /bɦaɛk/, 'younger brother', cf. bɦai, 'younger brother',

momaiɛr : /momaiɛr / ~ /momaɛr/, '(Your, fam.) maternal uncle', cf. momai, 'maternal uncle', etc.

---

1. /o/ may also, perhaps, be replaced by /u/ when followed by /u/ in the immediately following syllable of which I have no recorded material at present.

6.25 a :

(i) aa : /oa/ when they are not preceded by /i u/, e.g.

khaa : /khoa/, 'the act of eating', cf. kha, 'to eat',

paa : /poa/, 'the act of getting', cf. pa, 'to get',

kɒraa : /kɒroa/, '(You, pol.) cause to do', cf. kɒra 'to cause to do',

pɒrɦaa : /pɒrɦoa/, 'the act of teaching', cf. pɒrɦa, 'to teach', cf. pɒrɦ, 'to read',

kataa : /kɒtoa/, 'the act of causing to cut', cf. kat, 'to cut', etc.

(ii) aɒ : /aoɒ/ ~ /aɒ/ ; and /aoɔ/ ~ /aɔ/ when they are followed by / i / in environment (B) (ii) ; e.g.

khaɒn : /khaoɒn/ ~ /khaɒn/, 'the act of eating', cf. kha, 'to eat',

khaɒria : /khaoɔria/ ~ /khaɔria/, 'voracious eater', etc.

(iii) i/u aa : /i/u oa/ ~ /i/u ua/ ; e.g.

diaa : /dioa/ ~ /diua/, 'the act of giving',

niaa : /nioa/ ~ /niua/, 'the act of taking',

satiaa : /sɔtioa/ ~ /sɔtiua/, 'the act of sprinkling',

khuaa : /khuoa/ ~ /khuua/, 'the act of feeding',

bɒɦuaa : /bɔɦuoa/ ~ /bɔɦuua/, 'the act of causing to sit',

xunuaa : /xunuoa/ ~ /xunuua/, 'the act of causing to hear', etc.

(iv) a(C)ia : /ɔ(C)ia/ in environment (A) and (B) (ii) ; e.g.

gɦaia : /gɦɔia/, 'to strike with a knife', cf. gɦa, 'cutting wound',

dabia : /dɔbia/, 'to reprimand', cf. dabi, 'reprimand',

matia : /mɔtia/, 'earthy', cf. mati, 'earth, soil',

ɛkatia : /ekɔtia/, 'one sided, slanting', cf. kati, 'side', ɛkati, 'one side', etc.

(v) aCia : /ɒCia/ in environment (B) (iii) ; e.g.

pania : /pɒnia/, 'tasteless', cf. pani, 'water',

zogania : /zogɒnia/, 'supplier', cf. zoga, 'to supply',

aokania : /aokɒnia/, 'indifferent, inattentive', cf. aokan, 'inattention, indifference', etc.

(vi) aCua : /ɔCua/ in environment (B) (i) ; e.g.

masua : /mɔsua/, 'fishy, of fish', cf. mas, 'fish',

dɦarua : /dɦɔrua/, 'debtor, borrower', cf. dɦar, 'debt',

zatua : /zɔtua/, 'idiomatic, native',

pɒtharua : /pɒthɔrua/, 'wild, of the field', cf. pɒthar, 'field',

bɒŋalua : /bɒŋɔlua/, 'foreign, not native', cf. bɒŋal, 'foreign, relating to Bengal',

natua : /nɔtua/, 'dancer', cf. nat, 'drama', nɒt, 'dancer',

bɦatua : /bɦɔtua/, 'good for nothing (of dogs)', i.e. 'interested in eating only', cf. bɦat, 'rice',

gɦatua : /gɦɔtua/, 'to defeat', cf. gɦat, 'to be defeated',

nasua : /nɔsua/, 'to cause to dance', cf. nas, 'to dance', etc.

(vii) ãCua : /ɒ̃Cua/ ; e.g.

dãtua : /dɒ̃tua/, 'one having prominent front teeth', cf. dãt, 'teeth',

gãtua : /gɒ̃tua/, 'living in a hole', cf. gãt, 'hole', etc.

(viii) aC(C)a : /ɒC(C)a/ ; e. g.

kana : /kɒna/, 'blind', cf. kani, 'blind woman',

saka : /sɒka/, 'wheel', cf. sak, 'round mould',

bapai : /bɒpai/, 'dear son', a term of endearment,

dakait : /dɒkait/, 'robber', cf. daku, 'expert (not in good sense)',

kata : /kɒta/, 'to cause to cut,' cf. kat, 'to cut,'

kanda : /kɒnda/, 'the act of crying,' cf. kand, 'to cry, weep,' etc.

(ix) a(C)(C)VCa : /a(C)(C)VCa/, where V represents /i u o/, e.g.

paona : /paona/, 'dues to be received', cf. pa, 'to get',

bɦaona : /bɦaona/, 'theatrical performance',

naora : /naora/, 'a gutter', cf. nao, 'boat',

bagisa : /bagisa/, 'garden',

balika : /balika/, 'small girl',

natika : /natika/, 'playlet',

ɦalisa : /ɦalisa/, 'a certain measure of land',

paliba : /paliba/, '(You, pol.) will protect',

nasisa : /nasisa/, '(You, pol.) are dancing',

ɦatora : /ɦatora/, 'paw', cf. ɦat, 'hand',

kamora : /kamora/, 'to cause to bite',

ãsora : /ãsora/, 'to cause to scratch',

ɦagura : /ɦagura/, 'one who voids stool frequently', cf. ɦɔgua, 'to cause to void stool', ɦag, 'to void stool',

kandura : /kandura/, 'one who weeps frequently,' cf. kand, 'to weep', kɒndua, 'to cause to weep', etc.

(x) a(C) VC i/u a : /a(C) VC i/u a/ ; e.g.

khatɒniar : /khatɒniar/, 'one who waits upon, serves',

bamunia : /bamunia/, 'Brahmanical',

bapɔtia : /bapɔtia/, 'paternal',

xãsɔtia : /xãsɔtia/, 'preserved (adj.)',

alɔtia : /alɔtia/, 'sticky',

asɔɦua : /asɔɦua/, 'strange',

alɔxua : /alɔxua/, 'tender, delicate',

batɔrua : /batɔrua/, 'traveller',

zakɔrua : /zakɔrua/, 'living in a herd (as cattle)',

akɔlua : /akɔlua/, 'greedy',

kãitia : /kãitia/, 'thorny',

ãuria : /ãuria/, 'hysteria',

mauria : /mauria/, 'orphan', etc.

(xi) aVVCia : /aVVCia/ ; e.g.

gãoɔlia : /gãoɔlia/, 'villager, of the village',

naoɔria : /naoɔria/, 'boatman',

daoɔria : /daoɔria/, 'cloudy', etc.

(xii) aCɒCa : /ɒCɒCa/ ; e.g.

azɒla : /ɒzɒla/, 'simpleton',

bakɒrani : /bɒkɒrani/, 'barren land,' cf. bakɔri, 'barren land',

ãkɒra : /ɒ̃kɒra/, 'obstinate', cf. ãkɔri, 'obstinate (woman)',

batɒra : /bɒtɒra/, 'news', cf. batɔri, 'news',

kazɒla : /kɒzɒla/, 'of bluish-white colour,' cf. kazɒl, 'a kind of bluish earth', etc.

6.26 A :

A : /a/ always in all environments,[1] ; etc.

xArua : /xarua/, 'fertile', cf. xar, 'manure',

zAloa : /zaloa/, 'fisherman who catches fish with nets',

kAnia : /kania/, 'opium eater', cf. kani,' opium',

bAlia : /balia/, 'loose, soft and sandy', cf. bali, 'sand',

1. This morphophoneme A answers some of the exceptions to the morphophoneme a as discussed in § 6.25 ; for contrast, see § 6.25 (v) and (vi).

rʌtia : /ratia/, born at night', cf. rati, 'night',

zʌgial : /zagial/, 'belonging to *Jāgī*',

zʌgialia : /zagiɔlia/, 'belonging to *Jāgi*',

dʌ̃tialia : /dʌ̃tiɔlia/, 'residing at the border', cf. dʌ̃ti' 'border', etc.

6.30 Consonant alternation.

Consonant alternation is rare. The following have been noticed.

6.31 k. It is replaced alternatively by /g/ when it is followed by / g gɦ / ; e.g.

dak gari : /daggari/, 'mail coach, mail train',

dak gɦɒr : /daggɦɒr/, 'post office',

pak gɦɒr : /paggɦɒr/, 'kitchen', cf. pak xala, 'kitchen' pak, 'cooking', etc.

632 t. It is optionally replaced by /d/ when it is followed by /d b/ ; and occasionally dropped before /d/ ; e.g.

xat din : /xaddin/ ~ /xadin/, 'seven days',

xat dinia : /xaddinia/ ~ /xadinia/, 'weekly',

xat bar : /xadbar/, 'seven times', etc.

6.33 dɦ is optionally replaced by /d/ when followed by /b/ ; e.g.

budɦ bar : /budbar/, 'Wednesday', etc.

MORPHOLOGY

7.00 The Morphemes

7.10 All morphemes of the Assamese language may be grouped nto three broad divisions, viz.

(i) the Root morphemes,

(ii) the Sub-root morphemes, and

(iii) the Affixes.

7.20 The root morphemes.

The root[1] is the nucleus of all morphological constructions. t is the most important gravitational centre that attracts the eripheral affixes around.

7.21 Classification of the root.

The root which is either bound or free may be divided into he following classes[2].

(i) The S (ubstantive) roots,

(ii) The V (erbal) roots,

(iii) The S-V roots, and

(iv) The I (ndeclinable) roots.

The S roots are those from which Substantives only are lerived. They may be further sub-divided into the N (ominal) and P(ronominal) roots according as they construct nouns or pronouns espectively. Some indeclinables are also formed from the S roots.

The V roots construct bases and stems that take part in verbal inflections.

The S-V roots are those that form bases and stems for both nominal and verbal inflections.

The I roots constitute the indeclinables.

---

1. Root does not necessarily mean verb roots only. It includes nominal, pronominal, verbal and indeclinable root morphemes.

2. Roots are classified according to the inflection of the base forms they constitute with or without the peripheral affixes.

7.22 The shape of the root.

The V and I roots never consist of more than one syllable while S roots may have the maximum shape of more than one syllable.[1]

7.2210 Canonical form. The following are some of the very common canonical forms: C and V stand for consonant and vowel respectively.

7.2211 C: This a very rare shape for S, but common for the V class; e.g.

-th, as in uth, 'to get up, rise';

-k, as in uk or uka, 'to appear';

z-, as in za, 'to go'; uza, 'to go up stream';

-r, as in ãr, 'to hang up'; ɛr, 'to slip off'; ur, 'to wrap round the body', etc.

7.2212 V: This is a rare form for all the root classes; e.g.

i, 'this, this one, it';

-õ expresses person, e.g. ɛõ, 'this gentleman or lady'; tɛõ, 'that gentleman or lady, he, she';

ɔ expresses place, e.g. ɔr, 'of this place'; kɔr, 'of which place'; kɔt, 'where?' etc.

7.2213 VV: This is also rare for the V classes; e.g.

ai, 'mother, my mother'; ɔu, 'wood-apple'; ɔu, 'an interjectional expression'; ɔi, 'Halloo (impolite)'; etc.

7.2214 CV: This is very common for V class; e.g.

bɒ, 'to flow'; pi, 'to drink'; xo 'to sleep'; ga, 'body';

dɒ, 'deep'; si, 'an interjectional expression to mean disgust'; he, 'halloo (polite)'; ba, 'or'; mo- as in mor, 'my'; etc.

7.2215 VC: e.g. ɒt- as in ɒta, 'to clean'; ãk, 'to draw'; ut, 'camel'; -on as in kon, 'who?'; zon, 'who (relative); ux, ax, are interjection meaning 'uneasiness'; etc.

---

1. The shape of the varb roots have been discussed in detail in G. C. Goswami: 1959: pp. 49-67.

7.2216 VCC : A rare form ; e.g.

arz, 'to earn' ; ɒrs, 'to worship'.

7.2217 VVC : It is also very rare ; e.g.

ɔus, 'an expression to call the dogs near' ; etc.

7.2218 CVV : dɦɔu, 'wave' ; dɦɔua, 'to make waves' ; mɔi, 'harrow' ; mɔia, 'to harrow' ; dɔi, 'yogurt' ; mɔu, 'honey' ; tɔu, 'cooking vessel' ; sɐo, 'piece' ; gɦĩu, 'butter oil' ; etc.

7.2219 CVC : This is the very common form for all roots ; e.g. kɒr, 'to do' ; pat, 'leaf' ; mɐl, 'to open' ; likh, 'to write' ; niz, 'ownself' ; sin, 'to know', also 'a sign' ; kɒl, 'banana' ; phɒl, 'fruit' ; phul, 'flower' ; dɦan, 'paddy' ; pan, 'betel leaf' ; siɦ, 'an interjectional expression of disgust' ; etc.

7.2220 CVVC : dɔur, 'to run' ; xɔus, 'stool' ; xaun, 'Fourth month of the Assamese year' ; etc.

7.2221 CVCC : bandɦ, 'to tie, fasten' ; bindɦ, 'to pierce, pinch' ; kand, 'to cry' ; sɒrz, 'to create, make' ; gɒrɦ, 'to make' ; etc.

7.2222 CCV : Very rare ; e.g. sri, 'beauty'.

7.2223 CCVCC : Very rare ; e.g. spɒrx, 'to touch'.

7.2224 CCVC : Very rare ; e.g. srɒz, 'to create', smɒr, 'to recollect' ; grax, 'to swallow' ; etc.

7.2225 The most common shape of the root is CVC. Roots with consonant clusters either initial or final are *tatsama* roots borrowed from Sanskrit. S roots consisting of more than one syllable are abundantly available in the body of the text.

7.30 The Sub-root morphemes.

7.31 The Sub-root morphemes are a Class of small number of morphemes which may occur as independent roots as well as derivative suffixes. These are the Definitives that constitute two sets : (i) the Singular Definitives, and

(ii) the Plural Definitives.

7.32 The Singular definitives express definiteness of some single unit[1] ; e.g.

khɒn : kitapkhɒn, 'the book', (kitap, 'book', khɒn, 'the') ;

zɒn : manuhzɒn, 'the man' ;

dal : pensildal, 'the pencil', etc.

In the above expressions, khɒn, zɒn and dal are Singular definitives and used as derivative affixes after which the case inflectional ending may be added. But, note the following, where they have been used as N-roots that may take on inflectional endings after them and then occur by themselves ; e.g.

mor kitapkhɒnɒr dam dɒhtɒka, tomar khɒnɒr dam kiman ? 'the price of my book is Rupees ten ; what is the price of yours ?'—Here, tomar khɒnɒr means literally, 'your-the-of' and expresses the sense of tomar kitapkhɒnɒr, lit. 'your book-the-of', i.e. 'of your book'.

mor zɒnɒk matisilane ? Did you invite my (man) ?', Lit. 'Did you invite my-the-of ?'

tomar dalere likhibɒ noari, 'It cannot be written by yours', Lit. '(It) cannot be written your-the-by', referring to a pencil that has to be understood from the context.

It should be noted that the meaning of the definitives used as independent words is always understood from the context only.

7.33 The Plural definitives[2] express definiteness of some things or persons in plural ; e.g.

mor kitapborɒr dam besi, tomalokɒr borɒr ɛka ? 'My books are very costly, but, what about yours ?' Here, tomalokɒr-borɒr means 'your-plural the-plural-of', meaning 'of your books'.

tɛõr bilak gɔlgɔi, amar bilak nɔgɔl, 'His men had left, but ours remained'. Lit. 'his-the-plural, (meaning 'his men') 'had gone away, our-the-plural, (meaning 'our men') did not go'.

---

1. For details, see §§;8.42-8.43.

2. For details, see §§ 8.44-8.45.

In the above utterances, bor is a plural affix when added after kitap, as in kitapborɒr, 'book-the-plural-of', meaning 'of the books'; but, it is an N-root inflected in the Genitive case as in tomalokɒr borɒr ska, where borɒr is used as an independent word. Likewise, the form bilak in the second utterance is also an independent word in the Nominative Case.

7.40 The Affixes.

7.41 The peripheral forms always added to the root and its constructions are called affixes, which, although carry meaning of their own, have no separate existance, and can never form a free form alone or in conjunction with themselves.

Some affixes are independent, i.e. they may be attached to the root directly to construct a free form; while some are dependent, i.e. capable of constructing a free form from a root along with some other affixes only.

7.42 Classification of Affixes.

The affixes may broadly be divided into three classes[1]:

(i) The inflectives,
(ii) The derivatives, and,
(iii) The clitics.

7.4210 The inflectives are generally the outermost layer of morphological constructions, and syntactically responsible for grammatical agreement with other forms. Further, these inflectives are capable of forming distinct paradigms by which form classes may be distinguished.

---

1. The affixes have not been classified as primary and secondary affixes as is usually done in the traditional grammars since the root that takes them on covers a wide range of all unanalysable, i.e. underived, nucleus of morphological constructions. Further, what is primary for Sanskrit, the parent language, does not remain primary in Assamese. For example, Assamese ɒn (<Skt. *ana*, a primary affix) cannot be regarded as a primary affix. Cf. kpthɒn, 'talking, discussion'; kpthɒn mpthɒn, 'discussion'; kplpɒna, 'imagination, thinking'; but, there are no verbs in Assamese as kpth, mpth and kplp. So also the affix -ɒk as in khadɒk, 'eater', badɒk, 'a player on musical instruments', kpthɒk, 'talker', etc. no longer remains a primary affix, but has fallen together with the secondary affix -ɒk that occurs in constructions like phɒndiɒk, 'a plotter, conspirator,' budβiɒk, 'clever, sly', khetiɒk, 'cultivator', etc.

Like phonemic merge, there is morphemic merge as well in historical development of languages.

7.4211 The derivatives are suffixes of the inner layer of word formation. They may be either prefixes or suffixes, dependent or independent, and may occur in conjunction with other affixes to construct the base.

7.4212 The clitics are a small class of affixes which, syntactically, may occur at the end of fully inflected forms. They are generally the emphatic particles.

7.50 The base.

7.51 The base is the free form constructed of the root with or without peripheral derivatives, and ready for stem formation.

7.60 The stem.

7.61 The stem is the form which is ready for inflections. The S-stems, constructed of the base itself with or without the definitives and the plural morphemes, undergo inflections.

The V-stem undergoes inflections for finite or non-finite verbs, and is constructed of the base with or without the tense and mood morphemes.

8.00 Derivation

8.10 Derivation of the base form is affected by the following :

(i) Addition of peripheral prefixes and/or suffixes,
(ii) Change of the root vowel in case of a few V-bases,
(iii) Reduplication, and
(iv) Compounding.

8.20 Nominals and Verbals.

8.21 For sake of conveniences the derivatives of nominal and verbal bases have been discussed together. Forms constructing verbals only are V, and those common for nominals and verbals are N-V affixes.

8.22 The suffixes.

8.2210 There are ten distributional classes of dependent and independent suffixes, which have been presented in a tabular form below (the table follows in the next page). The number at the side of the affixes refers to the description and exemplification to follow (only the last two digits are shown in the table).

The Table of Affixes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
32 ɒth 36 am 38 ɒp 41 il 42 in 52 ɔu	27 ɒn		23 ɒk 35 al 40 ar 44 s	45 a 49 ɪ	33 ai 34 ak	31 ɒt 43 ɔ̃t 57 khan	46 ʌ	25 ɒn 26 ɒn 53 baz 54 dan; 55 dar 56 gir 58 khur 60 man 61 tɒl	50 i 51 ï
21 ɒh̃ 22 ɒk 2 4 ɒl 28 ɒr 29 ɒs 30 ɒt 37 aŋ 59 kur		48 i		47 u					
39 ar					62 ä				

8.2220 The following are description and exemplification of the affixes listed in the Table in the preceding page (hyphen shows the morpheme boundary).

8.2221 ɒɦ (N-V 1) : It is an independent morpheme, but may be followed by the morphemes I, I-A, i, i, i-A, u, u-A ; and expresses the sense of 'the state of possessing the quality of', etc.

ɒɦ has the allomorphs aɦ, ɒɦ and ɛɦ, which are morphologically conditioned ; and oɦ, which is phonologically conditioned ; e.g.

aɦ : zɒl-aɦ, zɒlaɦ, 'overflooded with water', cf. zɒl, 'water',
sɒl-aɦ, sɒlaɦ, 'deception', cf. sɒl, 'opportunity',
xɒt-aɦ, xɒtaɦ, 'continuous rain',
mɒd-aɦ-I, mɒdaɦi, 'drunk, drunkard', cf. mɒd, 'liquor',
sɒl-aɦ-I, sɒlaɦi, 'deceitful (woman ?)', also, 'deception',
kɛr-aɦ-I, kɛraɦi, 'oblique (look)', cf. kɛra, 'squint-eyed',
ɦam-aɦ-i, ɦamaɦi, 'procrastination', cf. ɦami, 'yawning',
phit-aɦ-i, phitaɦi, 'vanity, pride', cf. phitphat, 'show of greatness or pride',
xɒn-aɦ-I, xɒnaɦi, 'greedy', also, 'destroyer of everything',
mɛl-aɦ-I, mɛlaɦi, 'open-mouthed', cf. mɛl, 'to open', mɛla, 'open',
xɒt-aɦ-i, xɒtaɦi, a female name for girls,
zɒl-aɦ-u-A, zɒlɔɦua, 'overflooded with water', etc.

ɒɦ : rup-ɒɦ, rupɒɦ, 'beautiful', cf. rup, 'beauty',
ad-ɒɦ, adɒɦ, 'middle (of age), half ripe', cf. ad-, 'half',
mɒr-ɒɦ, mɒrɒɦ, 'to wither, die', cf. mɒr, 'to die',
ukh-ɒɦ, ukhɒɦ, 'to swell', cf. okhɒ, 'high',
sɒr-ɒɦ, sɒrɒɦ, 'to suck', also, 'to chock',
tɒn-ɒɦ, tɒnɒɦ, 'to be sprained',
rup-ɒɦ-i, rupɔɦi, 'beautiful (woman)',
sup-ɒɦ-i, supɔɦi' 'opened flower bud, calyx of a flower',
ɦat-ɒɦ-i, ɦatɔɦi, 'hand-axe, small axe', cf. ɦat, 'hand',

bɦik-ɒɦ-u, bɦikɔɦu, 'beggar', cf. bɦikhja, 'alms',

bɦɒs-ɒɦ-u, bɦɒsɔɦu, 'joker, worthless fellow',

bɒt-ɒɦ-u, bɒtɔɦu, a proper name for man,

al-ɒɦ-u, alɔɦu, -ditto-

ad-ɒɦ-ɪ-A, adɔɦia, 'middle aged, half ripe',

pat-ɒɦ-i-ä, pɒtɔɦia, 'to cut into thin slices', cf. pat, 'leaf',

sɒr-ɒɦ-A, sɒrɒɦa, 'chocking (in the throat)', etc.

ɛɦ : thɛr-ɛɦ, thɛrɛɦ, 'to remain stiff', cf. thɒr, 'still, motionless',

thɛr-ɛɦ-A, thɛrɛɦa, 'stiffened, half cooked',

gɛr-ɛɦ-A, gɛrɛɦa, 'bulky, lazy', cf. gɛr, 'belly, big belly'.

oɦ : zop-oɦ-A, zopoɦa, 'shrub', cf. zop, zopa, 'shrub',

kot-oɦ-A, kotoɦa, 'the spiny bamboo', etc.

8.2222 ɒk (V l) : It is an independent morpheme, but may be followed by the suffixes A, ä, ɒn-i, and i-ä. It expresses the sense of 'the state or quality of', etc. and indicates 'suddenness of an action or its continuity', etc.

The vowel of the morpheme ɒk harmonizes with the vowels / ɒ ɛ̀ i u / of the root ; with the vowel / o / it harmonizes only when it is followed by the morphemes A or ä ; e.g.

at-ɒk, atɒk, 'to confine', cf. at, 'to fasten, tighten',

gɒs-ɒk, gɒsɒk, 'to trample over',

xɒr-ɒk, xɒrɒk, 'to pass through', cf. xɒr, 'to pass through, fall down,'

thɒm-ɒk, thɒmɒk, 'to stop, wait', cf. tham, 'to stop',

ɦõɦ-ɒk, ɦõɦɒk, 'to slip away, move away',

xol-ɒk, xolɒk, 'to be free, loose',

mot-ɒk, motɒk, 'to fold, hem', cf. mot, 'cover, fold',

kɒs-ɒk, kɒsɒk, 'to be sprained',

gɒs-ɒk-A, gɒsɒka, 'trampling',

kɒs-ɒk-A, kɒsɒka, 'a sprain',

mot-ɒk-A, motoka, 'a fold, hem',

mot-ɒk-ä, motoka, 'to fold, hem',

gɒs-ɒk-ä, 'to cause to trample over',

xol-ɒk-ä, xoloka, 'to loosen, untie, set free',

phɐn-ɒk, phɐnɐk, 'to knead', cf. phɐn, 'foam',

sɐl-ɒk, sɐlɐk, 'to lick',

sɐl-ɒk-A, sɐlɐka, 'licking',

sɐl-ɒk-ä, sɐlɐka, 'to cause to lick',

sit-ɒk, sitik, 'to jump away, be scattered',

sit-ɒk-ä, sitika, 'to scatter',

phis-ɒk, phisik, 'to be easily torn',

pit-ɒk, pitik, 'to mash, squeeze', cf. pit, 'to thrash, ram',

pit-ɒk-A, pitika, 'mash',

mis-ɒk-i-ä, misikia, 'to smile',

sit-ɒk-ɒn-i, sitikɒni, 'scattering',

lur-ɒk, luruk, 'to enter somewhere and spoil things (as is done by animals),

bɦur-ɒk-ä, bɦuruka, 'to console, deceive',

bɦur-ɒk-ɒn-i, bɦurukɒni, 'consolation, deception,' etc.

8.2223 ɒk (N 4) : It is an independent morpheme and may be preceded by i or followed by I/i and A/a. It carries the sense of 'actor, doer of an action', or, 'the state of', etc.

ɒk has two allomorphs :

ik occurs when it is followed by A/a ; and,
ɒk occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

ɒk : pal-ɒk, palɒk, 'protector', cf. pal, 'to protect, tame',

khad-ɒk, khadɒk, 'eater, devourer',

gɦat-ɒk, gɦatɒk, 'executioner, murderer, killer',

nat-ɒk, natɒk, 'drama', cf. nat, 'drama',

bal-ɒk, balɒk, 'boy, lad',

xɒm-pad-ɒk, xɒmpadɒk, 'editor',

xeb-ɒk, xebɒk, 'worshipper, server',

lɛkh-ɒk, lɛkhɒk, 'writer, composer',

gai-ɒk, gaiɒk, 'singer',

nai-ɒk, naiɒk, 'leader',

rɒs-ɒk, rɒsɒk, 'composer', cf. rɒs, 'to compose',

mɒr-ɒk, mɒrɒk, 'epidemic', cf. mɒr, 'to die',

kɒth-ɒk, kɒthɒk, 'talker', cf. kɒtha, 'talk',

bɒndɦ-ɒk, bɒndɦɒk, 'mortgage', cf. bɒndɦ, 'closed', bandɦ, 'to tie',

bɒndɦ-ɒk-ɪ, bɒndɦɔki, 'the act of being in mortgage',

kɒth-ɒk-ɪ, kɒthɔki, 'talkative',

sɒɦ-ɒk-ɪ, sɒɦɔki, 'rich, well-to-do',

rɒs-ɒk-ï, rɒsɔki, 'fashionable woman',

nɒrt-ɒk-ï, nɒrtɔki, 'female dancer',

phɒnd-i-ɒk, phɒndiɒk, 'a designing person', cf. phand, 'trap', phɒndi, 'trick, plot',

khɛt-i-ɒk, khetiɒk, 'cultivator', cf. khɛt, 'farm', kheti, 'cultivation',

bodɦ-i-ɒk, budɦiɒk, 'clever, sly', cf. bodɦ, 'conscience, knowledge', budɦi, 'trick, plan, intelligence'.

ik : xeb-ik-a, xebika, 'a female worshipper, nurse',

pal-ik-a, palika, 'a female protector',

lɛkh-ik-a, lekhika, 'a female writer',

gai-ik-a, gaiika~gaika, 'a female singer',

xɒm-pad-ik-a, xɒmpadika, 'a female editor',

radɦ-ik-a, radɦika, '*Rādhikā*, consort of Lord *Krishna*',

bal-ik-a, balika, 'a small girl',

kɒth-ik-A, kɔthika, 'a short talk',

nat-ik-A, natika, 'a small drama',

lɒt-ik-A, lɔtika, 'a small creeper', cf. lɒta, 'creeper',

kal-ik-A, kalika, 'evil spirit', cf. kal, 'God of death', etc.

8.2224 ɒl (N-V l): An independent morpheme, but may be followed by A, I/i and I-A. It is either pleonastic, or carries the sense of 'possessing the quality or state of'.

The vowel of the morpheme harmonizes with the root vowel / u / always, and with / ɛ / occasionally (with one exception as noted below) when the morpheme A or i follows immediately after.

With a few roots with / ɛ / vowel, ɒl appears as ol as well. e.g.

ɒl: sag-ɒl, sagɒl, 'he-goat', cf. sag, 'he-goat',

pat-ɒl, patɒl, 'thin', cf. pat, 'leaf, thin sheet',

akh-ɒl, akhɒl, 'cooking room', cf. akha xali, 'kitchen', akha, 'oven',

ag-ɒl, agɒl, 'end, tip', cf. ag, 'the extreme end',

biz-ɒl, bizɒl, 'slimy', cf. biz, 'slimy thing',

digɦ-ɒl, digɦɒl, 'long', cf. digɦ, 'length',

kaz-ɒl-A, kɒzɒla, 'bluish white colour',

kaz-ɒl-i, kazɔli, 'a female (animal) of bluish white colour',

khat-ɒl-A, khatɒla, 'a high pedestal alter', cf. khat', 'a bed stead',

kat-ɒl-A, kɒtɒla, 'porcupine',

zadɦ-ɒl-A, zɒdɦɒla, 'slovenly person',

zadɦ-ɒl-i, zadɦɔli, 'slovenly woman',

andɦ-ɒl-A, ɒndɦɒla, 'blind man', cf. ɒndɦɒ, 'blind',

andɦ-ɒl-i, andɦɔli, 'blind woman',

sag-ɒl-i, sagɔli, 'she-goat',

bɒg-ɒl-i, bɒgɔli, 'white crane' cf. bɒg, 'white crane (male)', also, bɒga, 'white',

raŋ-ɒl-ɪ, raŋɔli, 'red (with blood or some red colour)', cf. rɒŋa, 'red', raŋi, 'red, female (animal)',

mok-ɒl-ɪ, mukɔli, 'free',

gɒr-ɒl-ɪ-ʌ, gɔrɔlia, 'big (of buffalo)', cf. gɒrɒl, 'big neck',

gɛndɦ-ɒl-ʌ, gɛndɦɛla, 'dirty man',

gɛndɦ-ɒl-ï, gɛndɦeli, 'dirty woman',

gɛr-ɒl-ʌ, gɛrɛla, 'big bellied man', cf. gɛ̃r~gɛr, 'crop of young bird',

gɛr-ɒl-ï, gɛreli, 'big bellied woman',

lɛr-ɒl-ʌ, lɛrɛla, 'emaciated man',

lɛr-ɒl-ï, lɛreli, 'emaciated woman',

zut-ɒl-ʌ, zutula, 'man having crooked hair',

zut-ɒl-ï, zutuli, 'woman with crooked hair',

gud-ɒl-ʌ, gudula, 'dust', cf. guda, 'dust',

kut-ɒl-ʌ, kutula, 'short, of stunted growth',

kuɦ-ɒl-ï-ä, kuɦulia, 'to request (with all humility to get some favour',

kur-ɒl-ï-ä, kurulia, 'to hoot (like an owl)'.

ol : bɦɛk-ol-ʌ, bɦɛkola, 'male frog',

bɦɛk-ol-ï, bɦekuli, 'frog, female frog', etc.

8.2225 ɒn (N 9) : It is always dependent on the morpheme i, and may be preceded by aŋ, ɒr, i and ʌ. It expresses the idea of 'an area full and abundant of', etc.

ɒn has two allomorphs conditioned phonologically :
n occurs after ʌ, i.e. the vowel /a/, and
ɒn occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

n : nɒr-ʌ-n-i, nɒrani, 'an area full of paddy stalks', cf. nɒra, '(paddy) stalk',

bak-ɒr-ʌ-n-i, bakɒrani, 'barren land', cf. bakɔri, 'barren land'.

ɒn : maɦ-ɒn-i, maɦɒni, 'pulse cultivation', cf. maɦ, 'pulse',
dɦan-ɒn-i, dɦanɒni, 'paddy field', cf. dɦan, 'paddy',
bɒn-ɒn-i, bɒnɒni, 'forest, green pasture', cf. bɒn, 'grass',
phul-ɒn-i, phulɒni, 'flower garden', cf. phul, 'flower',
xak-ɒn-i, xakɒni, 'vegetable garden', cf. xak, 'vegetable',
ɦab-i-ɒn-i, ɦabiɒni, 'jungle', cf. ɦabi, 'forest',
bɒr-i-ɒn-i, bɔriɒni, 'dry barren land', cf. bɔri, 'high land',
phɛr-aŋ-ɒn-i, phɛreŋɒni 'a branch (of tree)',
pɛr-aŋ-ɒn-i, pɛreŋɒni, 'a trap, cross',
khar-ɒn-i, kharɒni, 'alkali', cf. khar, 'alkali', etc.

8.2226 ɒn (N9) : It is the most favourite feminine morpheme which is dependent and always followed by the feminine morpheme i. It may be preceded by A, I, al, ar, al-I, i-al-I and i-A.

ɒn has three allomorphs, all conditioned phonologically :

n occurs after vowels,
un occurs after roots with the vowel / o /, and
ɒn occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

n : bɒr-A-n-i, 'Mrs. Bora', cf. bɒra, 'Bora, a title',
zag-i-al-I-n-i, zagialini, 'woman of the *Jāgi* village',
go-al-I-n-i, goalini, 'cowherdess, wife of a cowherd',
man-I-n-i, manini, 'woman proud of her beauty', cf. man, 'respect', mani, 'respectable',
mal-I-n-i, malini, 'wife of a flower-gardener', cf. mali, 'a gardener', mala, 'garland',
xiŋɦ-I-n-i, xiŋɦini, 'lioness', cf. xiŋɦɒ, 'lion',
bagɦ-I-n-i, bagɦini[1], 'tigress', cf. bagɦ, 'tiger', etc.

un : dom-un-i, dumuni, 'woman of *Dom* caste', cf. dom, 'fisherman',
sor-un-i, suruni, 'female thief', cf. sor, 'thief',
kos-un-i, kusuni, 'woman of *Koch* caste', etc.

1. The form I-n in the above constructions, may, perhaps, be treated as in also, an allomorph of ɒn, conditioned morphologically.

ɒn : phukɒn-ɒn-i, phukɒnɒni, 'Mrs. Phookan',

nɛog-ɒn-i, nɛogɒni, 'Mrs. Neog',

bamun-ɒn-i, bamunɒni, 'Brahmin woman, wife of a Brahmin',

xudir-ɒn-i, xudirɒni, '*Śūdra* woman, wife of a *Śūdra*',

mastɒr-ɒn-i, mastɒrɒni, 'lady teacher', cf. mastɒr, 'master (Eng)',

zag-i-al-ɒn-i, zagialɒni 'woman of the *Jāgī* village',

kɒmar-ɒn-i, kɒmarɒni, 'wife of a black-smith' cf. kɒmar, 'black-smith',

kumar-ɒn-i, kumarɒni, 'wife of a potter', cf. kumar, 'potter', etc.

8.2227 ɒn (N2) : This is the only morpheme of Class 2 that forms nouns, abstract and common, and adjectives with extensions. It is independent, but may be preceded by N-V morphemes, and followed by i/i/ɪ, ɪ-A, and i-ar.

ɒn has the allomorphs ɒn, an, on and n which are conditioned in part morphologically :

n and on generally occur when they are followed by A ;

ɒn and an occur elsewhere ; e. g.

ɒn : kha-ɒn, khaɒn, 'the act of eating', cf. kha, 'to eat',

di-ɒn, diɒn, 'the act of giving', cf. di, 'to give',

pɒrɦ-ɒn, pɒrɦɒn, 'the act of reading', cf. pɒrɦ, 'to read',

buz-ɒn, buzɒn, 'understanding, considerable', cf. ɓuz, 'to understand', buzɒni, 'consolation',

dɦak-ɒn, dɦakɒn ~ dɦakon, 'cover, lid', cf. dɦak, 'to cover',

kha-ɒn-i, khaɒni, 'boarding (charge)',

zir-ɒn-i, zirɒni, 'rest', cf. zira, 'to rest',

randɦ-ɒn-ɪ, randɦɒni, 'cook', cf. randɦ, to cook',

man-ɒn-i manɒni, 'honorarium',

zan-ɒn-i zanɒni, 'advertisement, notice', cf. zan, 'to know',

sal-ɒn-ɪ, salɒni, 'a sieve', cf. sal, 'to sieve',

ur-ɒn-ɪ-A, urɒnia, 'capable of flying', cf. ur, 'to fly',

zir-ɒn-ɪ-A, zirɒnia, 'staying or resting for a while',

tol-ɒn-i-a, tolɒnia, 'adopted', cf. tol, 'to bring up',

gɒs-ɒk-ɒn-i, gɒsɒkɒni, 'trampling', cf. gɒsɒk, 'to trample',

mag-ɒn-i-ar, mɒgɒniar, 'beggar', cf. mag, 'to beg',

dɛkh-ɒn-i-ar, dɛkhɒniar, 'beautiful to look at', cf. dɛkh, 'to see', dɛkhɒn, 'act of seeing',

lag-ɒn-i-ar, lɒgɒniar, 'back biter', cf. lɒga, 'to inform',

zik-ar-ɒn-i, zikarɒni, 'shaking suddenly',

ɦok-ar-ɒn-i, ɦokarɒni, 'growling, groaning',

zok-ar-ɒn-i, zokarɒni, 'shaking', cf. zokar, 'to shake',

gɦok-ɒt-ɒn-i, gɦokɒtɒni, 'digging and stirring',

sit-ɒk-ɒn-i, sitikɒni, 'sprinkling',

sit-ɒk-ɒn-a, sitikɒna, 'sprinkling',

bɦur-ɒk-ɒn-i, bɦurukɒni, 'consolation, deception',

ɦɛmb-al-ɒn-i, ɦɛmbɛlɒni, 'bellowing (of cows)',

phus-al-ɒn-i, phusulɒni, 'consolation with false promise',

tigɦilgɦil-ɒn-i, tigɦilgɦilɒni, 'aimless wandering',

sikmik-ɒn-i, sikmikɒni, 'dazzling',

sɒtpɒt-ɒn-i, sɒtpɒtɒni, 'restlessness',

khɒpzɒp-ɒn-i, khɒpzɒpɒni, 'unnecessary and thoughtless haste',

thuk-ɒs-ɒn-i, thukusɒni, 'soft thrashing (in washing clothes)',

kɒr-ɒs-ɒn-i kɒrɒsɒni 'grinding (of teeth in anger)',

mar-ɒn-a, mɒrɒna, 'thrashing of paddy (from the stalks)',

kat-ɒn-a, kɒtɒna, 'spinning and weaving on wages',

gɦɒt-ɒn-a, gɦɒtɒna, 'happening, incident', etc.

on : pa-on-a, paona, 'due to be received', cf. pa, 'to get',

dɛ̄-on-a, dɛ̄ona, 'fencing, which is to be jumped over', etc.

n : bɦao-n-a, bɦaona, 'theatrical performance', cf. bɦao, 'acting',

khɛl-n-a 'toys and the like', cf. khɛl, 'play',

baz-n-a, bazna, 'instrument, musical sound', cf. baz, 'to ring',

dɦak-n-A, dɦakna, 'covering, lid',

al-n-A, alna, 'cloth-stand', cf. al, ar, 'to hang up',

dol-n-A dolna, 'swing', cf. dol, 'to swing',

zɒr-n-A, zɒrna, 'dripping (as of water)', etc.

8.2228 ɒr (N-V l) : It is independent, but may be followed by A/a, i/ɪ/i/ï, u, i-A, I-A, i-ä and u-A in extensions. It expresses the sense of 'possessing the quality or state of, likeness', etc.

ɒr has five allomorphs :

r is phonologically conditioned, and

ɒr ɛr, or and ur are conditioned partly phonologically and partly morphologically ; e.g.

r occurs after roots ending in vowels ;

or occurs with roots in / o / when it is followed by other derivatives ;

ɛr occurs with roots in / ɛ / when it is also followed by other derivatives (with certain exceptions) ;

ur occurs with roots in / u / when it is followed by other derivatives (with certain exceptions) ;

ɒr occurs elsewhere, including in the exceptions to the other allomorphs ; e.g.

r : nao-r-A, naora, 'a boat shaped device to drain out water from the eves of the roofs', cf. nao, 'boat', etc.

or : xot-or-A, xotora, 'shrivelled',

okh-or-A, okhora (-mokhora), 'uneven', etc.

ɛr : tɛŋ-ɛr-A, tɛŋɛra, 'clever', also, a proper name for man,

zɛk-ɛr-A, zɛkɛra, 'harsh words',

lɛt-ɛr-A, lɛtɛra, 'dirty',

kɛt-ɛr-A, kɛtɛra, 'harsh words,'

zɛth-ɛr-I, zetheri, 'brother-in-law (elder brother of the wife)', cf. zɛthai, 'elder sister of the mother', zɛthal, 'elder brother of the husband',

dɛk-ɛr-i, dekeri, 'grown up girl', cf. dɛka, 'grown up man',

sɛŋ-ɛr-A, sɛŋɛra, 'grown up boy', etc.

ur : tuk-ur-A, tukura, 'piece',

khut-ur-A, khutura, 'piece',

lut-ur-A, lutura, 'fond of dainty things or sexual pleasure',

tuk-ur-i-ä, tukuria, 'to knock',

thub-ur-i-ä, thuburia, 'to collect',

zub-u-i-ä, zuburia, 'to dip in a liquid substance',

kut-ur, kutur, 'to entreat',

ɒr : kex-ɒr, kexɒr, 'mane (of horses)', cf. kex, 'hair',

tɛŋ-ɒr, tɛŋɒr, 'clever, sly', cf. tɛŋa 'sour (taste)',

tikh-ɒr, tikhɒr, 'sharp, clever, expert', cf. tikha, 'sharp',

baɦ-ɒr, baɦɒr, 'temporary residence', cf. bax, baɦa, 'residence',

kax-ɒr, kaxɒr, 'side', cf. kax, 'side, proximity',

kal-ɒr, kalɒr, 'deaf', cf. kalɔri, 'deaf woman', kɒla, 'deaf',

mukh-ɒr, mukhɒr, 'sonorous, loud', cf. mukh, 'mouth',

sap-ɒr, sapɒr, 'low, to be lower',

zɒg-ɒr, zɒgɒr, 'offence',

bɦag-ɒr, bɦagɒr, 'fatigue', cf. bɦag, 'to break down',

xam-ɒr, xamɒr, 'to fold, collect',

mos-ɒr, mosɒr, 'to twist, entwine',

khos-ɒr, khosɒr, 'to stir up, dig up', cf. khos, 'to prick',

xiŋ-ɒr-A, xiŋɒra, 'a kind of small fish with long thorns at the sides', cf. xiŋ, 'horn',

tɛŋ-ɒr-i, tɛŋɔri, 'sly woman',

tɛŋ-ɒr-al-i, tɛŋɒrali, 'slyness, cleverness',

bagɦ-ɒr-A, bɒgɦɒra, '*Bagharā*, a village in Nowgong district', cf. bagɦ, 'tiger', (Perhaps, it was a tiger infested area ; and even now it is so).

ar-ɒr-A, ɒrɒra, '*Ararā*, a village in Kamrup district',

bɦal-ɒr-i, bɦalɔri, 'sweet words of persuation, friendship', cf. bɦal, 'good',

kax-ɒr-i-A, kaxɔria, 'sided, on the side',

ɦat-ɒr-u-A, ɦatɔrua, 'a man going for marketing', cf. ɦat, 'market, market-place',

bat-ɒr-u-A, batɔrua, 'traveller', cf. bat, 'road, way',

bak-ɒr-A-n-i, bakɒrani, 'barren land',

kath-ɒr-A, kathɒra, 'wooden frame, trap, prison', cf. kath, 'wood',

kɒr-ɒr-A, kɒrɒra, '*Kararā*, a village in Kamrup',

lɒth-ɒr-A, lɒthɒra, 'tree without branches and leaves', cf. lɒtha, 'without branches and leaves, bald',

bɦɒt-ɒr-A, bɦɒtɒra, 'bullock',

bɒn-ɒr-ï, bɒnɒri, 'a truent woman, woman wandering in the jungle', cf. bɒn, 'forest, grass',

pɒl-ɒr-ï, pɒlɔri, 'a truent woman', cf. pɒla, 'to flee',

lɒg-ɒr-I, lɒgɔri, 'friend, companion', cf. lɒg, 'companion', also, 'company',

bɒn-ɒr-I-A, bɒnɔria, 'wild, of the forest', cf. bɒn, 'forest',

lɒg-ɒr-I-A, lɒgɔria, 'companion',

mukh-ɒr-A, mukhɒra, 'quarrelsome man',

mukh-ɒr-a, mukhɒra, 'quarrelsome woman', cf. mukh, 'mouth',

thut-ɒr-i, thutɔri, 'chin', cf. thõt, 'beak (of birds)', etc.

8.2229 ɒs (N-V1) : An independent morpheme ; it may be followed by I-A, u-A, i-ä, ɒn-i and al-i in extensions. It expresses the sense of 'likeness, the state or quality of', etc. and is often onomatopoetic in nature.

It has the following allomorphs which are generally conditioned phonologically, with a few exceptions :

ɛs occurs after roots in / ʁ / with certain exceptions,

os after roots in / o /, and in a few cases in / a /,

us after roots in / u / with a few exceptions with roots in / ɛ / when us is again followed by other derivatives, and,

ɒs elsewhere. E.g.

ɛs : thɛk-ɛs, thɛkɛs, 'to thrash or forcibly throw on the floor',

tɛŋ-ɛs-I, tɛŋesi, 'sour-like', also, 'a sour plant', cf. tɛŋa, 'sour (taste)',

dɦɛp-ɛs-A/i, dɦɛpɛsa/dɦɛpesi, 'bulky and slow man/woman',

thɛk-ɛs-A, thɛkɛsa, 'thrashing',

kɛr-ɛs-I-A, kɛresia, 'slanting, oblique', cf. kɛra~kɛ̃ra, 'squint-eyed',

dãɦ-ɛs-I-A, dɒ̃ɦesia, 'half ripe',

thɛk-ɛs-ɒu-i, thɛkɛsɒni, 'thrashing'.

os: bok-os-A, bokosa, 'the back (of a person when he carries something on)', cf. boka, 'load on the back',

kham-os, khamos, 'to grasp, grasping, handful'.

ɒs : ag-ɒs, agɒs, 'to obstruct by standing in the front',

? ban-ɒs, banɒs, 'wages (for some work)', cf. bɒna, 'to make',

kɒr-ɒs, kɒrɒs, 'to gnaw, grind the teeth',

mɒl-ɒs, mɒlɒs, 'to rub', cf. mɒl, 'to knead',

mudɦ-ɒs, mudɦɒs, 'the top line of a thatched house', cf. mudɦ, 'top, end',

tɒk-ɒs-A, tɒkɒsa, 'sour-like thing',

gɦɒr-ɒs-I-A, gɦɒrɔsia, 'domesticated, tamed', cf. gɦɒr, 'house',

rɒŋ-ɒs-u-A, rɒŋɔsua, 'reddish', also, 'coloured', cf. rɒŋ, 'colour', rɒŋa, 'red', etc.

Dr Gogoi's Collection

8.2230 ɒt (N-V 1) : It is an independent morpheme expressing the sense of 'the state or quality of, possessing the thing or quality of', etc., which may be followed by A/ä, I/i, i-ä, I-A, i-al and al-i.

ɒt has the following allomorphs :

ɛt : with roots in / ɛ /

ut : with roots in / u /,

ot : with roots in / o /, and / a /, when it is immediately followed by / a /,

t : with a few roots depending on selection, and

ɒt : elsewhere ; e.g.

ɛt : kɛɦ-ɛt-A, kɛɦɛta, 'a mixed taste of sour and bitter',
cf. kɛɦa, meanig same as kɛɦɛta,

sɛp-ɛt-A, sɛpɛta, 'flat and thin', cf. sɛp, 'narrow',

xɛŋ-ɛt-A, xɛŋɛta, 'bitter cold',

kɛɦ-ɛt-al-i, kɛɦɛtali, 'slightly jocular speech'.

ut : zug-ut, zugut, 'arrangement, collection', cf. zog, 'addition', zoga, 'to supply',

zug-ut-ä, zuguta, 'to collect, arrange',

buk-ut-A, bukuta, 'inner soft part of bamboo or cane', cf. buk, buku, 'breast'.

ot : xok-ot-A, xokota, 'dried leaves of jute plant', cf. xuka, to dry',

mok-ot-A, mokota, 'bend, hem',

mok-ot-ä, mokota, 'to cause to bend, hem',

gɦok-ot-A, gɦokota, 'digging into', cf. gɦok, 'to scoop',

ɦak-ot-A, ɦakota, 'a hook to hang something'.

t : sɒl-t–i, sɒlti, 'currency, current', cf. sɒl, 'to move',

bɦɒr-t-i, bɦɒrti, 'full to the brink', cf. bɦɒr, 'to be full',

gɒn-t-i, gɒnti, 'counting, count', cf. gɒn, 'to count',

man-t-i, manti, 'consent', cf. man, 'to accept',

pɛŋ-t-A/i, pɛŋta/pɛŋti, 'lame man/woman',

bɒk-t-A, bɒkta, 'speaker, orator', cf. bɒk, 'to talk, abuse',

din-t-I-A, dintia, 'daily, during the day time',
cf. din, 'day'.

ɒt : gɦok-ɒt, gɦokɒt, 'to dig up',

mok-ɒt, mokɒt, 'to bend, hem',

ol-ɒt, olɒt, 'to return', cf. olota, 'to cause to turn back',

khɒz-ɒt-i, khɒzɔti, 'itching', cf. khɔzua, 'to scrach',

ɦik-ɒt-i, ɦikɔti, 'hiccough',

nak-ɒt-i, nakɔti, 'tip of the nose', cf. nak, 'nose',

lal-ɒt-i, lalɔti, 'saliva', cf. lal, 'saliva',

bap-ɒt-i, bapɔti, 'paternal' cf. bap, bopai, 'father',

khir-ɒt-i, khirɔti, 'milch (cow)', cf. khir, 'thickened milk', also, gakhir, 'milk',

laɦ-ɒt-i, laɦɔti, 'fashionable woman', cf. laɦ, 'fashion',

ai-ɒt-i, aiɔti, 'women devotee singing *nāma-kīrtana*', cf. ai, 'mother', also, a term of address to senior ladies,

al-ɒt-I-A, alɔtia, 'sticky',

ag-ɒt-I-A, agɔtia, 'early, before time', cf. ag, 'front',

xɛɦ-ɒt-I-A, xɛɦɔtia, 'late, latest', cf. xɛɦ, 'last',

bap-ɒt-I-A, bapɔtia, 'paternal',

xãs-ɒt-I-A, xãsɔtia, 'accumulated, saving (adj.)', cf. xãs, 'to save',

lag-ɒt-ɪ-A, lagɔtia, 'necessary', cf. lag, 'to be necessary',

ɦik-ɒt-i-ä, ɦikɔtia, 'to hiccough',

zap-ɒt-i-ä, zɒpɔtia, 'to mix up everyting', cf. zap, 'to fold, fold',

lag-ɒt-i-al, lagɔtial, 'necessary',

xãs-ɒt-i-ar, xãsɔtiar, 'accumulator', etc.

8.2231 ɒt (N 7): This morpheme is dependent either on the preceding ai (8.2233), or on the following A, ï and i.

It denotes 'the state of', or 'skilled in doing things'. It occurs as:

t after vowels, and

ɒt elsewhere. E.g.

t : dak-ai-t, dɒkait, 'dacoit, robber', cf. daku, 'robber', also, 'an expert',

dak-ai-t-i, dɒkaiti, 'robbery, dacoity',

ɒgɦ-ai-t, ɒgɦait, 'wicked', cf. ɒgɦɒ, 'sin',

pak-ai-t, pakɔit, 'expert', cf. pɒka, 'ripe, expert, skilled in'.

ɒt : nis-ɒt-A, nisɒta, 'vileness, meanness', nis, 'low, mean',

ɦin-ɒt-A, ɦinɒta, 'meanness', cf. ɦin, 'mean, low',

zɒn-ɒt-A, zɒnɒta, 'populace, assembly of men', cf. zɒn, 'an individual',

din-ɒt-A, dinɒta, 'lowliness, poverty', cf. din, 'wretched',

xɒr-ɒl-ɒt-A, xɒrɒlɒta, 'simplicity', cf. xɒrɒl, 'simple',

kom-ɒl-ɒt-A, komɒlɒta, 'softness', cf. komɒl, 'soft',

xɒkh-i-ɒt-ï, xɔkhiɔti, 'a small yellow bird that utters xɒkhiɔu, xɔkhiɔu, etc.', cf. xɔkhi, 'friend', also, xɒkha, 'friend, companion',

phir-aŋ-ɒt-i, phiriŋɔti, 'spark', etc.

8.2232 ɒth (N 1) : Independent, but may be followed by A, I and u in extensions.

It expresses the sense of 'the state of being...', etc. and has three allomorphs conditioned phonologically ; e.g.

th occurs after vowels,

oth occurs after roots in /o/. and

ɒth occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

th : ɒnjɒ-th-A. ɒnjɒtha, 'other (means)', cf. ɒnjɒ, 'other'.

oth : tol-oth-A. tolotha, 'beam of an Assamese hand loom'.

gom-oth-A, gomotha, 'coarse, gloomy', cf. goma, 'gloomy'.

ɒth : pur-ɒth, purɒth, 'ripe, aged, mature', cf. pur, 'full',

pur-ɒth-I, purɔthi, 'ripe',

sɒl-ɒth, sɒlɒth, 'extensive search',

am-ɒth, amɒth, 'obstinate, fool',

naŋ-ɒth, naŋɒth, 'naked',

am-ɒth-i amɔthi, 'dried mango fruit', cf. am, 'mango',

am-ɒth-u, amɔthu, 'dry stone of mango fruit', etc.

8.2233 ai (N 6) : Independent, may be preceded by u, or followed by ɒt, ɒt-i in extensions.

It expresses the sense of 'endearment', or 'expert, skilled in' in extensions, forming abstract and common nouns and adjectives.

ai occurs in two allomorphs : ɔi and ai.

ɔi occurs immediately after roots in /a/, with a few exceptions when there is free variation[1] with ai also ; and, ai occurs elsewhere. E.g.

ɔi : am-ɔi, amɔi, a term of address to mother's equals,

ta-ɔi, taɔi, a term of address to father's equals,

at-ɔi, atɔi, a term of address to the *Vaishnavas*, '*Vaishnava* devotee',

1. There seems to be dialect mixture in most of the free variants in ai ~ ɔi.

gɦat-ɔi, gɦatɔi, 'boat man of the ferry ghat', cf. gɦat, 'ferry',

ɦal-ɔi, ɦalɔi, 'plough man', cf. ɦal, 'plough',

al-ɔi, alɔi, 'trouble and difficulties'.

ai : put-ai, putai, '(my) son', cf. po, potɒ, 'son',

mɒn-ai, mɒnai, 'dear one, mind's desired one', cf. mɒn, 'mind',

bap-ai, bɒpai, bopai, 'dear boy',

lakh-ai, lɒkhai, a proper name for man,

kak-ai, kɒkai, '(my) elder brother', cf. kaka 'elder brother (dialectial)',

boz-ai, bozai, 'heavy load, burden', cf. boza, 'burden',

bɒr-ai, bɒrai, 'boast', cf. bɒr, 'big, great',

munix-ai, munixai, 'manliness, strength', cf. muniɦ, 'man',

al-ai, alai, 'trouble and difficulties',

bil-ai, bilai, 'misery, difficulties',

gɒs-u-ai, gɔsuai, 'expert climber', cf. gɒs, 'tree',

mas-u-ai, mɔsuai, 'expert fisherman, relating to fish, fishy', cf. mas, 'fish',

gɦat-u-ai, gɦatuai, 'ferry man',

ɦal-u-ai, ɦaluai, 'plough man',

zal-u-ai, zaluai, 'fisherman who uses nets for catching fish', cf. zal, 'net',

mɛl-u-ai, meluai, 'a member in a meeting, a talkative man', cf. mɛl, 'meeting, assembly',

kɦɛl-u-ai, kheluai, 'player', cf. kɦɛl, 'play, game', etc.

8.2234 ak (N 6) : It is a pleonastic morpheme, independent, but may be preceded by ɪ, u and ɒt, or, followed by ᴀ and i/ɪ.

ak has two allomorphs which are conditioned phonologically as follows :

k after vowels, and

ak elsewhere. E.g.

k : gɦat-u-k, gɦatuk, 'murderer, killer, unkind, heartless', cf. gɦat, agɦat, 'wound, injury',

bɦab-u-k, bɦabuk, 'thinker, thoughtful', cf. bɦab, 'thought',

kam-u-k, kamuk, 'lusty, one having sexual aberrations'

ɦiŋx-u-k, 'envious, malicious', cf. ɦiŋxa, 'malice',

laz-u-k-ᴀ/ɪ, lazuka/lazuki, 'bashful man/woman', cf. laz, 'bashfulness',

lɜɦ-u-k-ᴀ, leɦuka, 'soft and flexible', cf. laɦi, 'tender',

ag-ɒt-u-k, agɒtuk, 'coming, forthcoming', cf. ag, 'front',

bɦab-u-k-i, bɦabuki, 'threatening',

zɛt-u-k-ᴀ, zetuka, 'a kind of plant with leaves that become red when broken',

? kɔut-u-k, kɔutuk, 'fun',

? zɔut-u-k, zɔutuk, 'dowry',

dɦɒn-ɪ-k, dɦɒnik, 'rich, the rich'; cf. dɦɒn, 'rich money',

bɒn-ɪ-k, bɒnik, 'tradesman'.

ak : zon-ak, zonak, 'moon light', cf. zon, 'the moon',

zon-ak-i, zonaki, 'butterfly', also, a female name,

sin-ak-i, sinaki, 'acquaintance'; cf. sin, 'sign'.

gɒr-ak-i, gɒraki, 'owner, lord', etc.

8.2235 al (N 4) : It is an independent morpheme but may be preceded by Class I morphemes ɒr, aŋ, ɒt, and/or followed by ɪ/i/ï, ɪ-A, ɒn-ï and u in extensions.

It denotes the sense of 'possessing the thing or quality or state of, have relationship to, related to', etc.

It has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs :

oal occurs after some selected roots, and

al occurs elsewhere. E.g.

oal : dak-oal, dakoal, 'mailman, postman', cf. dak, 'mail',

kat-oal, kɒtoal, 'executioner, hangman', cf. kat, 'to cut',

gɦat-oal, gɦatoal, 'ferryman',

paɦ-oal, paɦoal 'having many petals', cf. paɦ, 'petals',

xon-oal-ɪ, xonoali, 'golden', cf. xon, 'gold',

zon-oal-ɪ, zonoali, 'moon-lit (night)'.

al : gɦɒt-al, gɦɒtal, 'having a big Adam's Apple', cf. gɦɒt, 'Adam's Apple',

khɒŋ-al, khɒŋal, 'angry', cf. khɒŋ, 'anger',

gɒ̃p-al, gɒ̃pal, 'boastful, having vanity', cf. gɒ̃p, 'boast',

bɒŋ-al, bɒŋal, 'foreigner, Bengalees', cf. bɒŋgɒ, 'Bengal',

ɛr-al, ɛral, 'tether',

pɛt-al, pɛtal, 'pot-bellied', cf. pɛt, 'belly',

tɛz-al, tɛzal, 'very fresh, strong, having more blood', cf. tɛz, 'blood',

nɛz-al, nɛzal, 'having a tail', cf. nɛz, 'tail',

nom-al, nomal, 'having fur, hairy', cf. nom, 'fur, hair',

zoŋ-al, zoŋal, 'having a pointed end', cf. zoŋ, 'sharp end',

go-al, goal, 'cowherd', cf. go, 'cow',

um-al, umal, 'warm, hot', cf. um, 'warmth',

tɛŋ-ɒr-al-i, tɛŋɒrali, 'slyness, cleverness', cf. tɛŋɒr, 'clever, sly',

sul-aŋ-al-i, sulunali, 'fickleness, lightmindedness,' cf. sulun, 'fickle',

kɛɦ-ɒt-al-i, kɛɦɛtali, slightly jocular speech',

bagɦ-ɒr-al-ī, bɒgɦɒrali, 'woman from the *Bagharā* village',

kam-al-A, kamala, 'labourer, worker', cf. kam, 'work',

bɒŋ-al-A, bɒŋɒla, 'related or belonging to Bengal',

rɒŋ-al-I, rɒŋali, 'full of mirth and fun', cf. rɒŋ, 'fun',

kaŋ-al-I, kɒŋali, 'poor', also name of an Assamese *Bihu* festival held in the middle of October, cf. kaŋal, kɒŋal, 'a beggar',

xon-al-I, xonali, 'golden',

rup-al-I, rupali, 'silvery, white as silver', cf. rup, 'silver',

zon-al-I, zonali, 'moon-lit (night)',

koɦ-al-i, koɦali, 'a measure, about two feet long, used to determine the quantity of cloth woven in one sitting at the loom',

koth-al-i, kothali, 'room', cf. kotha, 'room',

zog-al-i, zogali, 'supplier', cf. zoga, 'to supply',

go-al-ɪ, goali, 'cowherdess',

dɒe-al-u, dɒealu, 'kind', cf. dɒea, 'kindness',

gur-i-al, gurial, 'helmsman', cf. guri, 'root, end',

rag-i-al, ragial, 'angry, enraged', cf. rag, 'anger',

mɒrɒm-i-al, mɒrɒmial, 'kind hearted', cf. mɒrɒm, 'love',

nɒd-i-al, nɔdial, 'fisherman', cf. nɔdi, 'river',

khɒr-i-al, khɔrial, 'quarrel', cf. khɒr, 'drought',

dãt-i-al, dãtial, 'residing at the border', cf. dãti, 'border',

zag-i-al, zagial, 'belonging to the *Jāgi* village',

xaɦ-i-al, xaɦial, 'brave', cf. xaɦ, 'bravery',

rɒŋ-i-al, rɒŋial, 'jovial', cf. rɒŋ, 'fun',

lag-ɒt-i-al, lagɔtial, 'necessary',

tɒn-ɒk-i-al, tɒnɔkial, 'strong, wealthy',

zag-i-al-i, zagiali, 'woman from the *Jāgi* village',

bɦat-i-al-ɪ, bɦatiali, 'westerly',

zag-i-al-ɒn-i, zagialɒui, 'woman from the *Jāgi* village',

zag-i-al-ɪ-A, zagiɔlia, 'belonging to the *Jāgi* village',

gão-al-ɪ-A, gãoɔlia, 'villager, belonging to a village', cf. gão, 'village',

mɒɦɒt-al-i, mɒɦɒtali, 'pride, greatness, dignity', cf. mɒɦɒttɒ, 'greatness', mɒɦɒt, 'great' big',

murkh-al-i, murkhali, 'foolishness', cf. murkhɒ, 'fool',

bɐz-al-i, bɐzali, 'profession of the *Vaidyas*', cf. bɐz, 'physician',

kripɒn-al-i, kripɒnali, 'miserliness',

purux-al-i, puruxali, 'manliness', cf. purux, 'man', etc.

8.2236 am (N l): Independent, but may be followed by the morphemes A, I and i in extensions.

It generally forms abstract nouns and adjectives denoting the sense of 'possessing the state of', etc.

The vowel of the morpheme harmonizes with / ɛ o u / of the root when, generally, other derivatives follow it. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule where the vowel remains unharmonized ; e.g.

bat-am, batam, 'wooden beam',

kath-am, katham, 'wooden frame', cf. kath, 'wood',

phul-am, phulam, 'full with flowers, embroidered', cf. phul, 'flower',

bakhɒr-am, bakhɒram, 'having stones (in ornaments)', cf. bakhɒr, 'stones used in ornaments',

lɛɦ-am, lɛɦɛm, 'delay, slowness', cf. laɦe laɦe, 'slowly',

ɦɛl-am, ɦɛlɛm, } as in ɦɛlɛm-ɦɛtɛm 'slow and leisurely',
ɦɛt-am, ɦɛtɛm, }

gɛdɦ-am-A, gɛdɦɛma, 'bulky and heavy', cf. godɦa, 'with big and bulky legs',

godɦ-am-A, godɦoma, —ditto—

lodɦ-am-A, lodɦoma, —ditto—

lur-am-A, luruma, 'clustered in a mass', also, 'stunted in growth',

lur-am-I, lurumi, as in luruma lurumi, 'clustered in mass',

murkh-am-i, murkhami, 'foolishness',

gund-am-i, gundami, 'vandalism',

bɦɒnd-am-i, bɦɒndami, 'hypocrisy', cf. bɦɒndɒ, 'hypocrite',

bandɒr-am-i, bandɒrami, 'fickleness, nature of a monkey', cf. baudɒr, 'monkey', etc.

8.2237 aŋ (N-V 1): Independent, may be followed by A/ä, i/i, al-i, and ɒu-i, in extensions.

aŋ expresses briskness in some action, and also, 'the state or quality of' etc. and is often onomatopoetic in nature.

The vowel of the morpheme, as a general rule, harmonizes with the root vowels / ɒ ɛ o u i / except in a few cases where it remains unharmonized. E.g.

mɒr-aŋ, mɒrɒŋ, as in mɒrɒŋ gɦɒr, 'a house on a plateform'.

mɒl-aŋ, mɒlɒŋ, 'to be musty', cf. mɒl, 'dirt',

mɒl-aŋ-A, mɒlɒŋa, 'musty',

mɒl-aŋ-ä, mɒlɒŋa 'to cause to be musty',

thɒr-aŋ-A, thɒrɒŋa, 'stiff', cf. thɒr, 'still, motionless',

lɒth-aŋ-A, lɒthɒŋa, 'devoid of branches and leaves', cf. lɒtha, 'topless' (of trees),

ɦɒt-aŋ-A, ɦɒtɒŋa, 'stout and sturdy',

sɛl-aŋ, sɛleŋ, 'chaddar, a piece of cloth worn on the upper part of the body',

bɦɛl-aŋ-A/i, bɦɛleŋa/bɦɛleŋi, 'simpleton, man/woman',

sɛr-aŋ-A, sɛrɛŋa, 'ray (of the Sun)',

xɛr-aŋ-A, xɛrɛŋa 'thin, light',

pɛr-aŋ-ɒn-i, pɛrɛŋɒni, 'a trap made of two crossed bar',

phɛr-aŋ-ɒn-i, phɛrɛŋɒni, 'branch (of trees)',

khol-aŋ, kholoŋ, 'hollow (in the trunk of trees)',

khor-aŋ, khoroŋ, —ditto—

ɦol-aŋ, ɦoloŋ, 'very tall (of trees ?)',

ɦol-aŋ-A, ɦoloŋa, 'a long pole to carry paddy bundles on the shoulder',

zol-aŋ-A, zoloŋa, 'a bag',

bɦus-aŋ, bɦusuŋ, 'frivolous',

sul-aŋ, suluŋ, 'sly, cunning',

tul-aŋ, tuluŋ, } as in tuluŋ bɦutuŋ, 'unsteady
bɦut-aŋ, bɦutuŋ } (as a boat)',

tul-aŋ-A, tuluŋa, 'light, fickle, unsteady',

sul-aŋ-al-i, suluŋali, 'slyness, frivolousness',

tir-aŋ, tiriŋ, 'fickle (look)',

bir-aŋ, biriŋ, 'as in tiriŋ biriŋ, 'unsteady look', cf. tirbir, 'twinkling,'

bir-aŋ, biriŋ, 'to ooze, appear',

til-aŋ-i, tiliŋi, 'tinkling bell', also, 'tinkling',

til-aŋ-A, tiliŋa, 'tinkling bell',

dɦit-aŋ-A, dɦitiŋa, 'idle, good for nothing',

dɦit-aŋ-al-i, dɦitiŋali, 'act of whiling away time for nothing',

khit-aŋ, khitiŋ, an onomatopoetic sound.

A few examples where the vowel of the morpheme remains unharmonized ; e.g.

thir-aŋ, thiraŋ, 'certain, decided', cf. thir, 'still',

khat-aŋ, khataŋ, 'final, decisive',

sor-aŋ, soraŋ, 'stolen (adj.), under ground, hidden', cf. sor, 'thief',

khɒr-aŋ, khɒraŋ, 'drought, dry weather or season', cf. khɒr, 'drought',

tɒr-aŋ, tɒraŋ, 'shallow, not deep', cf. tɒr, 'bank (of a river or a stream)', etc.

8.2238 ɒp (N 1): It is onomatopoetic and pleonastic in nature ; independent, but may be followed by u, A, I-A and ɒn-i in extensions.

The vowel of the morpheme, i.e. / ɒ / always harmonizes with the root vowel ; e.g.

sɒt-ɒp, sɒtɒp, an onomatopoetic sound,

sɒr-ɒp, sɒrɒp, -ditto-

kɒt-ɒp, kɒtɒp, 'attached firmly',

kɒt-ɒp-A, kɒtɒpa, 'fixed firmly',

khɒl-ɒp, khɒlɒp, 'layer, stratum',

khɒl-ɒp-A, khɒlɒpa, – ditto –

kɒr-ɒp-A, kɒrɒpa, 'layers of dirt on the skin',

kit-ɒp, kitip, 'trick',

sit-ɒp, sitip, onomatopoetic sound of beating with a whip,

kɛr-ɒp, kɛrɛp, 'paying side attention, side glance', cf. kɛ̃ra, 'squiant eyed',

sɛ̂l-ɒp-u, sɛ̂lepu, 'talkative',

sɛr-ɒp-A, sɛ̂rɛ̂pa, 'too sour in taste',

kɛr-ɒp-A, kɛ̂rɛpa, 'trap made by two crossed bars',

kɛ̂r-ɒp-I-A, kɛ̂repia, 'forked, crossed for a trap',

gɛz-ɒp-ɒn-i, gɛzepɒni, 'a thicket',

zɛr-ɒp-A, zɛrɛ̂pa, 'fixed tightly, cross-grained and difficult to split',

ɦor-ɒp-A, ɦoropa, 'depressed or bent down',

xor-ɒp-A, xoropa, 'idle, lazy',

sur-ɒp, surup, 'the sound of sucking (something)', etc.

8.2239 ar (V 1) : It is an independent morpheme, but may be followed by ɒn-i and ä in extensions.

ar verbalizes the root and denotes the sense of 'doing or imitating some action', etc.

It occurs in two allomorphs conditioned phonologically :

or with roots in / a /, and

ar elsewhere. E.g.

or : kam-or, kamor, 'to bite, biting',

kam-or-ɒn-i, kamorɒni, 'biting',

xaŋ-or, xaŋor, 'to yoke together (as bulls)',

ãs-or, ãsor, 'to scratch, scratching', cf. ãs, 'fine line',

nad-or, nador, 'to swim, swimming',

ar : zik-ar, zikar, 'to stand on end (as hair of the body)',

xĩ-ar, xĩar, 'to make faces (in jokes)',

ɦɛk-ar, ɦɛkar, 'to retaliate by reminding one's shortcomings',

lɒt-ar, lɒtar, 'to visit a mistress frequently',

ɦok-ar, ɦokar, 'to growl (as tigers)',

zok-ar, zokar, 'to shake, shaking',

phok-ar, phokar, 'to call, challenge',

moɦ-ar, moɦar, 'to smash, rub, knead', etc.

8.2240 ar (N 4): Independent, may be followed by A, I, ĭ, ɒu-ĭ, or preceded by i and ɒu-i in extensions.

It indicates agent, performer or doer of some action or work, or expert in some trade, or addicted to something, or some action', etc.

ar occurs in two allomorphs conditioned morphologically :

ur when followed by A/ĭ, and

ar elsewhere. E.g.

ur : kand-ur-A/ĭ, kandura/kanduri, 'man/woman, habituated to weeping',

kaɦ-ur-A/ĭ, kaɦura/kaɦuri, 'man/woman, who coughs frequently,'

ɦag-ur-A/ĭ, ɦagura/ɦaguri, 'man/woman, who frequently voids stool',

dɒndɦ-ur-A/ĭ, dɒndɦura/dɒndɦuri, 'man/woman, who is quarrelsome',

bɦaŋ-ur-ĭ, bɦaŋuri, 'woman addicted to smoking hemp',

ka-ur-ĭ, kauri, 'crow (because of her uttering ka, ka sounds ?)'.

ar : kãɦ-ar, kɒ̃ɦar, 'tradesman working on bell-metal goods', cf. kãɦ, 'bell-metal',

kam-ar, kɒmar, 'black-smith',

sam-ar, sɒmar, 'cobbler', cf. samra, sɒmɒra 'leather',

kum-ar, kumar, 'potter',

lɛkh-ar-u, lɛkharu, 'writer', also, an Assamese title,

zuz-ar-u, zuzaru, 'fighter',

khɛl-ar-u, khɛlaru, 'player', cf. khɛl, 'game, play',

zik-ar-u, zikaru, 'winner', cf. zik, 'to win',

xon-ar-ɪ, xonari, 'goldsmith', cf. xon, 'gold',

kum-ar-ɒn-i, kumarɒni, 'female potter', or 'potter's wife',

kam-ar-ɒn-i, kɒmarɒni, 'wife of a black-smith',

kãɦ-ar-ɒn-i, kɒ̃ɦarɒni, 'wife of a bell-metal worker',

adɦ-i-ar, adɦiar, 'a tenant who works on half of the share', cf. adɦ, adɦa, 'half'.

dɛkh-ɒn-i-ar, dɛkhɒniar, 'beautiful to look at', cf. dɛkh, 'to look at, see',

mag-ɒn-i-ar, mɒgɒniar, 'beggar', cf. mag, 'to beg', magɒn, 'begging',

lag-ɒn-i-ar, lɒgɒniar, 'back biter',

khat-ɒn-i-ar, khatɒniar, 'a man who waits upon to serve', cf. khat, 'to serve, work', etc.

8.2241 il (N l) : Independent, but may be followed by A, ɪ and I in extensions.

It expresses the idea of 'accomplishment, having the thing or quality of' etc. and forms adjectives ; e.g.

kut-il, kutil, 'intricate, cf. kut, 'knot',

zɒt-il, zɔtil, 'difficult', cf. zɒt, 'knot',

rɒŋ-il, rɔŋil, 'coloured, red', cf. rɒŋ, 'colour', rɒŋa, 'red',

at-il, atil, 'fast, tight and stout', cf. at. 'to tighten',

phut-il, phutil, 'just broken (as dawn)', cf. phut, 'to break',

kam-il-A, kamila, 'laborious, active, industrious', cf. kam, 'work',

gɒr-il-A, gɔrila, 'a block of wood as a stay', cf. gɒr, 'a stay',

aɦ-il-A, aɦila, 'instrument',

pat-il-A, patila, 'vessel' (Early As.),

rɒŋ-il-i, rɔŋili, 'a joyous woman', also, a proper name for woman, cf. rɒŋ, 'fun, joy',

maɦ-il-I, maɦili, 'monthly', cf. maɦ, 'month', etc.

8.2242 in (N 1): An independent morpheme forming adjectives and proper names of man, and denoting the idea of 'possessing the quality of' etc.

in: nɒb-in, nɔbin, 'new, fresh', cf. Skt. *nava*, 'new',

udax-in, udaxin, 'disinterested, unmindful'.

8.2243 ōt (N 7): An independent morpheme, generally followed by A or ï in extensions to indicate 'doer of some action', meant by the verbal root. It forms participles and conjunctives of verbs.

ōt occurs in four allomorphs[1] conditioned generally phonologically, and in part morphologically as follows:

ōt before /a/,

it and ɒ̄t, when they are followed by /i/,

it, when preceded by /a/, and

ɒ̄t, elsewhere, and,

ɒntɒ, when not followed by any derivative. E.g.

ōt: kɒr-ōt-A, kɒrōta, 'doer, actor of some action', cf. kɒr, 'to do',

pɒrɦ-ōt-A, pɒrɦōta 'reader, learner', cf. pɒrɦ, 'to read',

kha-ōt-A, khaōta, 'eater', cf. kha, 'to eat',

---

1 In some dialects, ōt shows up only in two forms, ɒnt and ɒntɒ in the environments mentioned above: ɒnt before vowel and ɒntɒ when it is not followed by any derivatives; e.g. kɒrɒnta, khaɒnta, diɒnta, kɒrɒnti, diɒnti; also, sɒlɒntɒ, zɒlɒntɒ, zibɒntɒ, etc.

di-õt-A, diõta, 'giver, donor' ; cf. di, 'to give',

sɒl-ä-õt-A, sɒlaõta, 'driver, performer'.

ɒ̃t : kɒr-ɒ̃t-ï, kɒrɒ̃ti, 'female doer',

pɒrɦ-ɒ̃t-ï, pɒrɦɒ̃ti, 'female reader, learner',

di-ɒ̃t-ï, diɒ̃ti, 'female giver, donor'.

it : kha-it-ï, khaiti, 'female eater',

pɒrɦ-ä-it-ï, pɒrɦaiti, 'female teacher' ;
cf. pɒrɦa, 'to teach',

kɒr-ä-it-ï, kɒraiti, 'woman who causes to do' ;
cf. kɒra, 'to cause to do'.

ɒntɒ : sɒl-ɒntɒ, sɒlɒntɒ, 'moving, running' ; cf. sɒl, 'to move',

zɒl-ɒntɒ, zɒlɒntɒ, 'burning' ; cf. zɒl, 'to burn',

zib-ɒntɒ, zibɒntɒ, 'living, conscious' ; cf. zi, 'to live', etc.

8.2244 s (N 4) : It is dependent on the preceding i, and may be followed by A. It forms common nouns. E.g.

tɒl-i-s-A, tɔlisa, 'something spread on the bottom (say, of a *śarāi*)',

nɒl-i-s-A, nɔlisa, 'long tube for smoking from the *hokā*' ;
cf. nɒl, 'a kind of hollow weed', also, 'tube',

khɒr-i-s-A, khɔrisa, 'bamboo pickle',

bag-i-s-A, bagisa, 'garden' ; cf. bag, 'garden',

ɦal-i-s-A, ɦalisa, 'a certain measure of land'.

8.2245 a (N 5) : It is a feminine morpheme, generally dependent on the preceding ɒk (in allomorph ik), ɒr and ɒt. There are very few words with this morpheme in the language, many of them are loans from Sanskrit ; e.g.

xɐb-ik-a, xebika, 'female worshipper, nurse',

lɐkh-ik-a, lekhika, 'female writer',

bal-ik-a, balika, 'girl',

xɒm-pad-ik-a, xɒmpadika, 'female editor',

ma-ik-a, maika, 'woman (disrespectful, used dialectically)',

mukh-ɒr-a, mukhɒra, 'quarrelsome (woman)',

tir-ɒt-a, tirota, 'woman',

ai-t-a, aita, 'grand mother', etc.

See also § 8.2223 above.

8.2246 A(N8) : It is independent and one of the most productive derivatives of the language. It is non-feminine, and "definitive, connective, agentive, pleonastic"[1] and responsible for extensions of most other derivatives.

It may directly occur after the roots, or may be preceded by morphemes of N, V and N-V Class 1 [No.s 8.22 (21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, 41)], Class 2 [No. 8.2227], Class 3 [No. 8.2248], Class 4 [No.s 8.22 (23, 35, 40, 44)], Class 5 [No.s 8.22(47, 49)], Class 6 [No. 8.2234], and Class 7 [No.s 8.22(31. 43)].

It forms the following extensions :

(i) i-A which may be preceded by morphemes of Classes No.s 1 and/or 2 ;

(ii) I-A ; and

(iii) u-A, which may be preceded by morphemes of Classes No.s 1, 2, 3 and 4.

This morpheme A, with or without extensions, may be followed by ɒn-i and ɒn-i in further extensions.

E.g. ka-A, koa, 'male crow'; cf. kauri, 'crow-hen',

kɒl-A, kɒla, 'deaf (man)',

bɒg-A, bɒga, 'white',

pɛɦ-A, pɛɦa, 'father's younger sister's husband',

sɒr-ɒɦ-A, sɒrɒɦa, 'chocking (in the throat)',

gɒs-ɒk-A, gɒsɒka, 'trampling',

bɦɛk-ɒl-A, bɦɛkola, 'male frog',

---

1. Dr B. Kakati : 1962 : § 510.

nao-r-A, naora, 'a boat shaped device to drain out water from the roof of the house'; cf. nao, 'boat',

bagɦ-ɒr-A, bɒgɦɒra, '*Bagharā*, a village',

thɐk-ɒs-A, thɐkɐsa, 'thrashing',

sɐp-ɒt-A, sɐpɐta, 'thin and flat'; cf. sep, 'narrow',

ɦin-ɒt-A, ɦinɒta, 'meanness'; cf. hin, 'mean, lowly',

gom-ɒth-A, gomotha, 'gloomy'; cf. goma, 'gloomy',

zol-aŋ-A, zoloŋa, 'bag',

xor-ɒp-A, xoropa, 'idle',

kand-ur-A, kandura, 'frequently weeping (person)',

pa-on-A, paona, 'due to be received',

sit-ɒk-ɒn-A, sitikɒna, 'sprinkling',

zir-ɒn-I-A, zirɒnia, 'resting for a while',

lɒg-ɒr-I-A, lɒgɔria, 'companion',

bat-ɒr-u-A, batɔrua, 'traveller',

bɒr-u-A-n-i, bɔruani, 'Mrs. Barua',

bɒr-A-n-i, bɒrani, 'Mrs. Bora',

nɒr-A-n-i, nɒrani, 'an area full of paddy stalk', etc.

A also forms abstract nouns of verbal roots; e.g.

aɦ-A, ɒɦa, 'coming, the act of coming'; cf. aɦ, 'to come',

pɒrɦ-A, pɒrɦa, 'reading, the act of readig'; cf. pɒrɦ, 'to read, study',

za-A, zoa, 'going, the act of going'; cf. za, 'to go',

kɒr-A, kɒra, doing, the act of doing'; cf. kɒr, 'to do',

kɒra-A, kɒroa, 'the act of causing to do'; cf. kɒra, 'to cause to do',

gɒsɒk-A, gɒsɒka, 'trampling, the act of trampling'; cf. gɒsɒk, 'to tremple over',

kɒsɒk-A, kɒsɒka, 'sprain'; cf. kɒsɒk, 'to be sprained', etc.

8.2247 u (N-V 5) : It is a pleonastic morpheme, independent, but may be preceded by ɒɦ, ɒth, al and ar in the following extensions :

(i) u-A which may be preceded by ɒɦ, ɒr, ɒs, or followed by ɒn-ï ;

(ii) u-k followed by i/ï/A, and

(iii) u-ä that forms verbs.

E.g. buk-u, buku, 'breast',

bɦuk-u, bɦuku, 'beating with the fist',

mak-u, maku, 'shuttle (of hand-looms)',

nel-u, nelu, 'throat (slang)' ; cf. nɒl, 'hollow weed, pipe',

bɦik-ɒɦ-u, bɦikɔɦu, 'beggar, wretched one',

zɒg-ɒr-u, zɒgɔru, 'offender, accused',

am-ɒth-u, amɔthu, 'dried stone of mango fruit',

dɒe-al-u, dɒealu, 'kind hearted',

khɛl-ar-u, khɛlaru, 'player',

zɒl-aɦ-u-A, zɒlɔɦua, 'flooded',

zat-u-A, zɔtua, 'idiomatic, native',

gɦɒr-u-A, gɦɔrua, 'domestic',

kath-u-A, kɔthua, 'harsh, rude',

bat-ɒr-u-A, batɔrua, 'traveller',

rɒŋ-ɒs-u-A, rɒŋɔsua, 'reddish, coloured',

bɒr-u-A-n-ï, bɔruani, 'Mrs. Barua',

bɦab-u-k-i, bɦabuki, 'threatening',

bɦab-u-k, bɦabuk, 'thoughtful',

kam-u-k, kamuk, 'lustful, lusty',

laz-u-k-A, lazuka, 'bashful man',

laz-u-k-ï, lazuki, 'bashful woman',

bɦuk-u-ä, bɦukua, 'to beat with the fist',

bɒɦ-u-ä, bɔɦua, 'to cause to sit down, seat',

ag-u-ä, agua, 'to go forward, move ahead',

pis-u-ä, pisua, 'to go back, retreat',

nas-u-ä, nɔsua, 'to cause to dance',

khat-u-ä, khɔtua, 'to employ', etc.

8.2248 i (N-V): It is independent, and may be preceded by Class 1 morphemes, and/or ɒn (Class 2), and followed by ar and/or al, ɒk in extensions. Its extension in i-ä forms verbs.

It is "pleonastic and diminittive" in nature[1].

E.g. zat-i, zati, 'caste'; cf. zat, 'caste',

lɒt-i, lɔti, 'creeper'; cf. lɒta, 'creeper',

mɒt-i, mɔti, 'mind'; cf. mɒt, 'consent',

gɦɒt-i, gɦɔti, 'a pot'; cf. gɦɒt, 'pot',

ɛt-i, eti, 'a small one'; cf. ɛta, 'one',

ɒ-kɒn-i, ɒkɒni, 'dear one (to small boys or girls)'; cf. kɒn, 'small, eye of the grain',

sak-ɒl-i, sakɔli, sɒkɔli, 'a thin slice'; cf. sakɒl, sɒkɒl, 'slice',

sup-ɒɦ-i, supɔɦi, 'opened flower bud',

ɦat-ɒɦ-i, ɦatɔɦi, 'hand-axe',

khat-ɒn-i-ar, khatɒniar, 'a man who waits upon to serve',

rag-i-al, ragial, 'angry, enraged',

zag-i-al-i, zagiali, 'woman from *Jāgī*',

zag-i-al-ɒn-i, zagialɒni, -ditto-,

lag-ɒt-i-al, lagɔtial, 'necessary',

tɒn-ɒk-i-al, tɒnɔkial, 'strong, healthy, wealthy',

---

1. Dr. B. Kakati, 1962 § 528.

bɦat-i-al-ɪ, bɦatiali, 'westerly', also, 'a *rāga*',

zag-i-al-ɪ-a, zagiɔlia, 'belonging to *Jāgī*',

kheɛt-i-ɒk, khetiɒk, 'cultivator',

bodɦ-i-ɒk, budɦiɒk, 'clever, sly',

sak-ɒl-i-ä, sɒkɔlia, 'to cut into thin slices',

ɦik-ɒt-i-ä, ɦikɔtia, 'to hiccough',

gɒt i-ä, gɔtia, 'to push ahead by knocking at the back of the neck',

sɒr-i-ä, sɔria, 'to slap on the cheek'; cf. sɒr, 'a slap',

mar-i-ä, mɔria, 'to beat, whip'; cf. mar, 'to beat', also, mari, 'a whip',

lath-i-ä, lɔthia, 'to kick', cf, lathi, 'a kick',

top-ɒn-i-ä, topɒnia, 'to doze'; cf. topɒni, 'sleep',

khɒn-i-ä, khɒnia, 'to arrange into pieces'; cf. khɒn, 'a piece',

bat-i-ä, bɔtia, 'to vomit'; cf. bati, 'vomitting', etc.

8.2249 I (N 5): It is also another very productive morpheme, independent, but may occur in the extensions I-(a)k and I-A which may be preceded by morphemes of Classes 1, 2, and 4 in further extensions.

It is adjectival, denoting 'possession of some quality of' a thing; e.g.

dɦɒn-ɪ, dɦɒni, 'rich',

man-ɪ, mani, 'respectable',

tɛl-ɪ, teli, 'oilman'; cf. tɛl 'oil',

kɒpaɦ-ɪ, kɒpaɦi, 'made of cotton'; cf. kɒpaɦ, 'cotton',

bi-lat-ɪ, bilati, 'foreign'; cf. bilal, 'foreign land',

kasmir-ɪ, kasmiri, 'belonging to Kashmere',

sal-an-ɪ, salani, 'exported', cf. salan, 'export',

bɒn-ɪ-k, bɒnik, 'tradesman',

srɒm-ɪ-k, srɒmik, 'labourer' ; cf. srɒm, 'labour',

kɒth-ɒk-ɪ, kɒthɔki, 'talkative',

mok-ɒl-ɪ mukɔli, 'free' ; cf. mokɒl, 'to be free',

lɒg-ɒr-ɪ, lɒgɔri, 'friend, companion',

rɒŋ-al-ɪ, rɒŋali, 'full of mirth and fun' ; cf. rɒŋ, 'fun, merriment',

xon-al-ɪ, xonali, 'golden',

xon-ar-ɪ, xonari, 'goldsmith',

maɦ-il-ɪ, maɦili, 'monthly',

kal-ɪ-A, kalia, 'a player on a clarion',

mat-ɪ-A, mɒtia, 'of earthen (colour), earthly',

gɒr-ɒl-ɪ-A, gɒrɔlia, 'big buffalo',

ur-ɒn-ɪ-A, urɒnia, 'capable of flying, fickle',

bɒn-ɒr-ɪ-A, bɒnɔria, 'wild',

gɦɒr-ɒs-ɪ-A, gɦɒrɔsia, 'domestic, household',

din-t-ɪ-A, dintia, 'daily, during the day time',

ag-ɒt-ɪ-A, agɔtia, 'early',

gão-al-ɪ-A, gãoɔlia, 'villager, belonging to village',

kɛr-ɒp-ɪ-A, kɛrepia, 'forked, knotty', etc.

See also other morphemes.

8.2250 i (N 10): This is one of the two outermost derivatives forming generally abstract, occasionally concrete nouns. It is dependent on the morphemes of Classes 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 and 9.

E.g. bɦal-ɒr-i bɦalɔri, 'flattery, sweet words for consolation',

khɒz-ɒt-i, khɒzɔti 'itching',

man-t-i, manti, 'agreement, consent',

sɒl-t-i, sɒlti, 'currency, current',

lal-ɒt-i, lalɔti, 'saliva',

am-ɒth-i, amɔthi, 'dried mango fruit',

gund-am-i, gundami, 'vandalism',

til-aŋ-i, tiliŋi, 'tinkling bell',

kha-ɒn-i, khaɒni, 'boarding (adj.), relating to eating',

zir-ɒn-i-, zirɒni, 'rest',

gɒs-ɒk-ɒn-i, gɒsɒkɒni, 'trampling',

ɦok-ar-ɒn-i, ɦokarɒni, 'growling',

gɦok-ɒt-ɒn-i, gɦokɒtɒni, 'digging up',

thuk-ɒs-ɒn-i, thukusɒni, 'thrashing',

sɒt-pɒt-ɒn-i, sɒtpɒtɒni, 'restlessness',

dak-ai-t-i, dɒkaiti, 'dacoity',

phir-aŋ-ɒt-i, phiriŋɔti, 'spark',

sin-ak-i, sinaki, 'acquaintance, knowledge, known',

bɛ̆z-al-i, bɛzali, 'profession of the *Vaidyas*',

phɛ́r-aŋ-ɒn-i, phɛrɛŋɒni, 'branch (of tree)',

gɛz-ɒp-ɒn-i, gɛzɛ̆pɒni, 'a thicket',

tɛ̆ŋ-ɒr-al-i, tɛŋɒrali, 'slyness, cleverness'.

See also other morphemes.

8.2251 i (N 10): This is another outermost peripheral derivative for feminine nouns. It may be directly added to the root, or after morphemes of Classes 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 and 9, or may occur in extensions al-i and ɒn-i which are occasionally preceded by morphemes of other classes.

E.g. rup-ɒɦ-i, rupɔɦi, 'beautiful woman'; cf. rup, 'beauty', ruppɒɦ, 'beautiful',

nɒrt-ɒk-i, nɒrtɔki, 'female dancer',

bɒg-ɒl-i, bɒgɔli, 'white crane (female)',

kal-ɒr-ï, kalɔri, 'deaf woman',

dɦɐp-ɒs-ï, dɦɐpesi, 'bulky and slow woman',

khir-ɒt-ï, khirɔti, 'milch cow',

zon-ak-ï, zonaki, 'butterfly', also, a female name,

bɦɐl-aŋ-ï, bɦɐleŋi, 'simpleton woman',

rɒŋ-il-ï, rɒŋili, 'joyous woman',

di-ɒ̃t-ï, diɒ̃ti, 'female giver',

kha-it-ï, khaiti, 'female eater',

zag-i-al-ï, zagiali, 'woman from *Jāgī*',

laz-u-k-ï, lazuki, 'bashful woman',

gɦut-ɒl-i, gɦututi, 'dwarf woman',

kaɦ-ur-ï, kaɦuri, 'a frequently coughing woman',

bɒr-A-n-ï, bɒrani, 'Mrs. Bora',

bɒr-u-A-n-ï, bɔruani, 'Mrs. Barua',

kɐ̃ot-ɒu-ï, kɐ̃otɒni, 'wife of a *Kɐ̃ot*',

bamun-ɒn-ï, bamunɒni, 'Brahmin woman', etc.

See also other morphemes.

8.2252 ɔu (N l): It is pleonastic and onomatopoetic in nature, and indicates endearment.

It is directly added to the root and is not followed by any other morpheme.

E.g. nit-ɔu, nitɔu, 'daily, always'; cf. nite nite, 'always, everyday

ɦɒl-ɔu, ɦɔlɔu, 'a gibbon',

ɦɒl-ɔu, ɦɔlɔu, 'wide and loose and long', as in ɦɔlɔu sola, 'a very loose overcoat, gown',

put-ɔu, putɔu, 'pity, kindness',

pit-ɔu, pitɔu, 'my dear son' ; cf. pita, 'father',[1]

xɒd-ɔu, xɒdɔu, 'all, including all',

dɦind-ɔu, dhindɔu, khit-ɔu, khitɔu, as in dɦindɔu khitɔu 'playing on drums according to one's own likings',

dɦɒl-ɔu, dɦɒlɔu (-pɒlɔu), 'unsteady (as in walking)',

kɒl-ɔu, kɒlɔu, as in kɒlɔu mɒlɔu, or kɒlɔu zɒpɔu, 'state of restlessness due to helplessness or utter despondency',

kɒl-ɔu, kɒlɔu, 'quarrel, misfortune' ; cf. kɒlɒɦ, 'quarrel',

at-ɔu, atɔu (-putɔu), 'great earnestness, show of affection',

? ɦer-ɔu, ɦerɔu, 'halloo',

? n-ɔu, nɔu, '(not) yet' ; cf. nɒ, 'not, no', etc.

8.2253 baz (? N 9) : Independent, but may be preceded by i or A and followed by i in extensions.

It expresses the sense of 'expert or skilled in', etc. There are only a few forms with this derivative.

E.g. phak-i-baz, phakibaz, 'expert lier' ; cf. phaki, 'lie', phak mar, 'to steal, deceive',

dag-A-baz, dɒgabaz, 'very wicked' ; cf. dag, 'mark', dagi, 'marked' ; and so, dɒgabaz is 'one who is marked for offences',

thɒg-baz-i, thɒgbazi, 'deception' ; cf. thɒg, 'deceiver',

dɦapp-A-baz-i, dɦappabazi, 'deception, lie' ; cf. dɦappa, 'a lie', etc.

8.2254 dan (? N 9) : It means 'receptacle or vessel', and always occurs in the extension dan-i, and may be added to the root with or without any other derivatives, e.g.

---

1. It has to be noted that an Assamese may address a son as pita, pitai, 'father, my father', and a daughter, a girl, as ai, ma, mai, 'mother'. These are terms expressing love and affection, and used extensively.

phul-dan-i, phuldani, 'flower vase', cf. phul, 'flower',

pik-dan-i, pikdani, 'spittoon' ; cf. pik, 'spittle', etc.

8.2255 dar (? N 9): It is independent, expressing the sense of 'holder of an office, or an expert on handling something' ; may be preceded by i or A, and/or followed by i.

E.g. sɒmɒz-dar, sɒmazdar, 'connoisseur, one who understands well',

mɒzum-dar, mɔzumder, an Assamese title,

sɔk-i-dar, sɔkidar, 'watchman, guard' ; cf. sɔki, 'outpost',

zɒm-i-dar zɔmidar, 'Zamindar, land lord' ;

cf. zɒmi, 'land',

mɔuz-A-dar, mɔuzadar, 'revenue collector in the *Mauzā*',

sɔk-i-dar-i, sɔkidari, 'watch, watchmanship',

zɒm-i-dar-i, zɔmidari, 'Zamindarship', etc.

8.2256 gir (? N 9): It always occurs in the extension gir-i, and may be preceded by other morphemes.

It forms abstract nouns denoting 'the state or quality of', etc.

E.g. dɛk-A-gir-i, dɛkagiri, a term of address to young persons ; cf. dɛka, 'young, youthful person',

guru-gir-i, gurugiri, 'preceptorship',

bab-u-gir-i, babugiri, 'show of a gentleman',

kɛran-i-gir-i, kɛranigiri, 'clerkship' ; cf. kɛrani, 'clerk', etc.

8.2257 khan (? N 7): It occurs in the extension khan-A, indicating some place or location. There are very few forms with this morpheme in the language.

E.g. mal-khan-A, malkhana, 'godown, store, ware house', cf. mal, 'goods, luggage',

daktɒr-khan-A, daktɒrkhana, 'dispensary, hospital',

siria-khan-A, siriakhana, 'zoological garden',

pae-khan-A, paekhana, 'latrine',

boithɒk-khan-A, boithɒkkhana, 'drawing room, a place for *majlis*'; cf. boithɒk, 'sitting', boithɔki, 'musical soiree', etc.

8.2258 khur (? N 9) : An independent morpheme that forms nouns indicating the sense of 'used to, expert in', etc.

It may be followed by i in extension. Very few forms are recorded ; e.g.

labɦ-khur, labɦkhur, 'used to having large profits'; cf. labɦ, 'income, profit, gain',

gɦos-khur, gɦoskhur, 'used to taking bribes'; cf. gɦos, 'bribe',

gaz-A-khur, gazakhur, 'a gossip' ; cf. gaza, 'idle gossip',

ɦam-khur-i, ɦamkhuri, 'tumbling down', etc.

8.2259 kur (N-V 1) : It is an independent morpheme, but may be followed by i/ɪ/ī, or i-ä or ɒn-i in extensions.

It is onomatopoetic and indicates such actions ; e.g.

phɛ̃-kur, phɛ̃kur, 'to sob',

bɦɛ̃-kur, bɦɛ̃kur, 'to mildew',

dɦa-kur, dɦakur, 'to run fast, be breathless'; cf. dɦa, 'to run',

sɛ̃-kur, sɛ̃kur, 'to run (like horses)',

mɛ̃-kur-i, mɛ̃kuri, 'cat',

phɛ̃s-kur-i, phɛ̃skuri, 'discharge of the eye',

thut-kur-i-ä, thutkuria, 'to spit',

phɛ̃s-kur-i-ä, phɛ̃skuria, 'to discharge dirt (from the eye)',

bɦɛ̃-kur-ɪ, bɦɛ̃kuri, as in tit bɦɛ̃kuri, 'a medicinal plant',

bɦut-kur-ī, bɦutkuri, 'a dwarfish girl',

sɛ̃-kur-ɒn-i, sɛ̃kurɒni, 'running (of horse)', etc.

8.2260 man (? N 9) : It is an independent morpheme, but may be preceded by other morphemes.

It expresses the sense of 'possessing the quality of', and occurs in four allomorphs : man ~ mɒntɒ, and, ban ~ bɒntɒ.

The second free variant in both the cases are stylistic. It is evidently a Sanskrit derivative and is not very frequent in Assamese.

E.g. sri-man/mɒntɒ, sriman, srimɒntɒ, 'beautiful',

buddɦi-man/mɒntɒ, buddɦiman, buddɦimɒntɒ, 'clever',

dɦɒnɒ-ban/bɒntɒ, dɦɒnɒban, dɦɒnɒbɒntɒ, 'wealthy',

bɦagjɒ-ban/bɒntɒ, bɦagjɒban, bɦagjɒbɒntɒ, 'fortunate',
etc.

8.2261 tɒl (? N 9) : It occurs in the extension tɒl-i, indicating 'habitation or location of some cultivation' ; e.g.

maɦ-tɒl-i, maɦtɔli, 'pulse cultivation',

dɦan-tɒl-i, dɦantɔli, 'paddy field',

bãɦ-tɒl-i, bãɦtɔli, 'an area of a bamboo groove',

kɔthia-tɒl-i, kɔthiatɔli, 'field of pady seedling',

am-tɒl-i, amtɔli, 'mango groove', etc.

8.2262 The Verbalizing Morpheme.

8.226210 ä (V 6) : This is an independent verbalizing morpheme. It may occur with preceding i and u in the extensions (i) i-ä and (ii) u-ä.

8.226211 This ä is the most productive and free verbal derivative in the language. It expresses the following senses in accordance with its occurrences after various roots and forms :

(i) Simple verbalizing. ä verbalizes a large number of roots and forms both transitive and intransitive : its extensions in i-ä and u-ä (of which the first members, i. e. i and u belong to N-V class of derivatives) are regarded as denominative suffixes in the traditional grammars.

(ii) Causative, and,

(iii) Double causative. ä may be repeated twice in succession, and the result is sometimes double, and sometimes simple causative.

8.226212 ä verbalizes a large number of bound and free roots into transitive and intransitive verbs.

E.g. ol-ä, ola, 'to get ready, come out, appear',

b-ä, ba, 'to plough, row (boat)',

z-ä, za, 'to go',

u-z-ä, uza, 'to go upstream',

kh-ä, kha, 'to eat',

xu-ä, xua, 'to suit, beautify',

ti-ä, tia, 'to wet' ; cf. tit, 'to be wet',

khɒtkhɒt-ä, khɒtkhɒta, 'to knock',

pɛrpɛr-ä, pɛrpɛra, 'to cry incessantly', etc.

8.226213 ä makes intransitive verbs transitive in sense.

E.g. mil-ä, mila, 'to mix up'; cf. mil, 'to be mixed up',

kɒm-ä, kɒma, 'to lessen' ; cf. kɒm, 'to be less',

zi-ä, zia, 'to give life to' ; cf. zi, 'to live',

sɒr-ä, sɒra, 'to graze (cattle)' ; cf, sɒr, 'to graze by themselves)',

tɒr-ä, tɒra, 'to rescue'; cf. tɒr, 'to be saved',

gɒl-ä, gɒla, 'to melt (something)' ; cf. gɒl, 'to melt', etc.

8.226214 In certain verbs ä is suffixed to make other verbs without causing any change in the original meaning.

E.g. khɛl-ä, khɛla, 'to play' ; cf. khɛl, 'to play',

thɒg-ä, thɒga, 'to deceive' ; cf. thɒg, 'to deceive',

khɛd-ä, khɛda, 'to drive away' ; cf. khɛd, 'to drive away',

mɛl-ä, mɛla, 'to open, loosen' ; cf. mɛl, 'to open, loosen', also, 'to be open, get loose', etc.

8.226215 ä forms causative verbs when it is affixed to verbs with transitive meaning.

E g. kɒr-ä, kɒra, 'to cause to do' ; cf. kɒr, to do',

pɒrɦ-ä, pɒrɦa, 'to teach'; cf. pɒrɦ, 'to read',

gil-ä, gila, 'to cause to swallow' ; cf. gil, 'to swallow',

ni-ä, nia, 'to cause to bring' ; cf. ni, to 'bring',

mat-ä, mɒta, 'to cause to be called, invited' ; cf. mat, 'to call', also, 'to invite', etc.

8.226216 ä-ä, (i.e. when the morpheme is repeated twice), forms sometimes double causative and sometimes simple causative; e.g.

zi-ä-ä, zioa, 'to cause (somebody) to cause (some third person) to live' ; cf. zi, 'to live', zia, 'to cause to live, give life to',

pɒrɦ-ä-ä, pɒrɦoa, 'to cause (some one) to teach,' cf. pɒrɦ, 'to read', pɒrɦa 'to cause to read, i.e. to teach', but, pɒrɦoa means also 'to teach',

thɒg-ä-ä, thɒgoa, 'to cause (some one) to be deceived', or, also, 'to cause (some one) to cause to be deceived', cf. thɒg, thɒga, 'to deceive',

kɒm-ä-ä, kɒmoa, 'to cause somebody to lessen, ; cf. kɒma, 'to lesson',

xik-ä-ä, xikoa, 'to cause to teach, i.e. to cause (some one) to cause (a third person) to learn' ; cf. xik, 'to learn', xika, 'to teach, i.e. to cause to learn',

kɒr-ä-ä, kɒroa, 'to cause (some one) to do', also, 'to cause (some one) to cause (another person) to do', etc.

8.226217 i-ä makes verbs both transitive and intransitive in senses ; e.g.

gol-i-ä, gulia, 'to shoot' ; cf. guli, 'bullet', gol, 'round', gola, 'round balls, bullet',

gɦa-i-ä, gɦɔia, 'to strike (with knives or cutting instruments)'; cf. gɦa, 'wound',

mar-i-ä, mɔria, 'to beat, strike'; cf. mar, 'to beat', mari, 'a cudgel',

riŋ-i-ä, riŋia, 'to shout', also, 'to call shouting'; cf. riŋ, riŋi, 'shout',

topɒn-i-ä, topɒnia, 'to doze'; cf. topɒni, 'sleep',

ɦam-i-ä, ɦamia, 'to yawn'; cf. ɦami, 'yawning',

khund-i-ä, khundia, 'to hit'; cf. khund, 'to thrash', khunda, 'thrashing',

dab-i-ä, dɔbia, 'to scold'; cf, dabi, 'scolding',

pɒth-i-ä, pɔthia, 'to send'; cf. pɒtha, 'to send',

ol-i-ä, ulia, 'to draw out, bring out'; cf. ola, 'to come out',

dop-i-ä, dupia, 'to nod, press with the feet'; cf. dop, 'pressure', as in dop de, 'exert pressure!',

sɒr-i-ä, sɔria, 'to slap on the face'; cf. sɒr, 'slapping', also, sɒra, 'to slap',

ɦikɒt-i-ä, ɦikɔtia, 'to hiccough'; cf. ɦikɔti, 'hiccough', etc.

§ 226218 The extension in u-ä also forms denominatives and simple verbs; e.g.

bɒɦ-u-ä, bɒɦua, 'to seat, cause to sit'; cf. bɒɦ, 'to sit',

bɦuk-u-ä, bɦukua, 'to beat on the breast',

pis-u-ä, 'pisua, 'to retreat, fall back'; cf. pis, 'back',

ag-u-ä, agua, 'to go forward'; cf. ag, 'front',

nas-u-ä, nɔsua, 'to cause to dance'; cf. nas, 'to dance', also, 'a dance',

gɦat-u-ä, gɦɔtua, 'to defeat'; cf. gɦat, 'to be defeated', etc.

8.23 Vowel Change.

8.2310 Change in the root vowel may also be regarded as derivation in certain verbs where the root vowel / ɒ / is replaced by / a /.

The meaning of the derived verb is generally transive ; but there are a few cases where the derived forms are intransitive ; e.g.

m a r, 'to beat, kill',	...	m ɒ r, 'to die',
p a r, 'to pluck',	...	p ɒ r, 'to fall off',
s a r, 'to graze',	...	s ɒ r, 'to graze (by itself)',
t a r, 'to rescue, save',	...	t ɒ r, 'to be saved',
z a l, 'to kindle',	...	z ɒ l, 'to brighten, dazzle',
gɦod a l, 'to stir up to make dirty',	...	gɦod ɒ l, 'to be dirty',
bid a r, 'to tear asunder',	...	bid ɒ r, 'to rend asunder',
bir a z, 'to shine, prevail upon',	...	r ɒ z, 'to prevail', etc.

8.24 Reduplication.

Reduplication is a very productive device for derivation of nominals and indeclinables. Nominals derived by reduplication may be verbalized by suffixing the verbalizing morpheme ä or i-ä.

Pronouns and proniminals are not derived by reduplication. And not all the reduplicated forms occur unreduplicated.

8.2410 Reduplication may be, principally, of two types :

(a) Complete reduplication, and

(b) Partial reduplication.

Complete reduplication may, again, be divided into two subtypes : onomatopoetic and non-onomatopoetic,

Partial reduplication may be of various sub-types, depending on reduplication of various parts or phonemes of the forms.

8.2411 Complete reduplication : onomatopoetic. The whole form is reduplicated without any change ; e.g.

kulkul, 'bubbling of water (of a stream or a spring)',

kɒlkɒl, 'babbling of pouring water',

tɒktɒk, 'knocking',

khɒtkhɒt, 'knocking', also, 'ticking sound',

khitkhit-I-A, khitkhitia, 'easily irritated',

phusphus, 'whispering',

phusphus-ä, phusphusa, 'to whisper',

kulkul-ä, kulkula, 'to gurgle',

tutu-ä, tutua, 'to entice',

khɒtkhɒt-ɒn-i, khɒtkhɒtɒni, 'knocking sound',

phõsphõs, 'hissing sound',

phõsphõs-ä, phõsphõsa, 'to make hissing sound (as snakes do)',

khilkhil-ä khilkhila, 'to laugh',

khilkhil-ɒn-i, khilkhilɒni, 'laughing',

khɒskhɒs, 'pricking sensation (in the eye)',

bɦɒkbɦɒk-ɒn-i, bɦɒkbɦɒkɒni, 'burning sensation', etc.

8.2412 Non-onomatopoetic complete reduplication. Sometimes non-onomatopoetic reduplication[1] also takes place as the following ; e.g.

---

1. This reduplication cannot be taken as syntactic repetition since the reduplicated form is always necessary to convey the specific meaning of the combination which again is opposable to a single form ; e.g.

mas mas gondhae, '(it) smells fishy or fish-like' ; but, mas gondhae, 'fish smells', i e. 'fish emits smell' ; bhal gondhae, '(it) smells nice', etc.

anzakhɒn pani pani lage, 'the soup is tasteless', Lit. 'the soup tastes water-water' ; the construction, anzakhɒn pani lage, is nonsense, but anzakhɒn bhal lage means 'the soup tastes nice'.

Such reduplicated forms do not allow any derivational forms after them like the onomatopoetic ones discussed in the preceding section.

bagɦ bagɦ, 'tiger-like (smell)' ; cf, bagɦ, 'tiger',

pani pani, 'tasteless', (Lit. 'water-water') ; cf. pani' 'water',

mas mas, 'fishy (smell)' ; cf. mas, 'fish',

zɒr zɒr, 'feverish', cf. zɒr, 'fever',

zar zar, 'chilly', cf. zar, 'cold, chill',

sɛ̃sa sɛ̃sa, 'cold' ; cf. sɛ̃sa, 'cold', etc.

8.2.13 Partial reduplication with change in the initial consonant.

In this type, the reduplicated form follows and its initial consonant is changed either by a labial consonant or by /z/ ; e.g.

kɒkbɒk, 'babbling under water (in drowning)',

kɒkbɒk-ä, kɒkbɒka, 'to babble under water (in drowning)',

sɒtpɒt, 'restlessness, restless',

sɒtpɒt-ä, sɒtpɒta, 'to be restless',

ɦɛrphɛ̃r, 'slight difference, more or less',

tirbir, 'twinkling',

tirbir-ä, tirbira, 'to twinkle',

tirbir-ɒɒ-i, tirbirɒɒi, 'twinkling, dazzling',

khɒpzɒp, 'undue haste',

khɒpzɒp-ä, khɒpzɒpa, 'to make undue haste',

kɛ̃rzɛ̃r, 'bargaining', etc.

There are some forms of more than one syllable which are repeated but never followed by any other derivatives ; e.g.

tuluŋbɦuluŋ, 'unsteady (as a boat in waves)',

dɦolɒŋɒolɒŋ, 'unsteady (as in walking)',

sɛlɛŋpɛtɛŋ, 'fickle, fickleness',

tiriŋbiriŋ, 'unsteady and restless (in look)',

lɒrɒkphɒrɒk, 'loose, moving', etc.

There are, however, a few exceptions to the above rule regarding change of the initial consonant, where the replaced consonant is neither /z/ nor bilabial; e.g.

xolokdɦolok, 'loose',

aboltabol, 'inconsistant talk', etc.

8.2414 Reduplication with changed vowel. Sometimes the vowel of the form is changed in reduplication; the changed vowel being /u/ for /a/, and /a/ for all other vowels; e.g.

dɦumdɦam, 'hurry, hurriedly',

khutkhat, 'something trifling',

khuskhas, —ditto—

phusphas, or phasphus, 'whispering',

mitmat, 'compromise, consiliation',

phitphat, 'fashionable, showy, show of greatness or pride',

xarxur, 'indication, movement',

dɦardɦur, 'debt etc.',

katkut, 'ommission and commission',

khasaŋkhusuŋ, 'unimportant action',

karaŋkuruŋ, 'some indication', etc.

8.2415 Repetition of the final syllable.

In a few reduplicated forms the initial syllable (with the consonant and the following vowel), is lost: such reduplicated forms may be followed by ä or in a few cases by ɒn-i; e.g.

tigɦilgɦil, 'purposeless loitering',

tigɦilgɦil-ä, tigɦilgɦila, 'to loiter about purposelessly',

tigɦilgɦil-ɒn-i, tigɦilgɦilɒni, 'purposeless loitering',

khɒdɒmdɒm, 'hurry',

khɒdɒmdɒm-ä, khɒdɒmdɒma, 'to make haste',

uthɒpthɒp, 'bustle, hurry',

bɦekutkut, 'tickle under the armpit' ; cf. kutkut, 'tickle',

rɒzɒnzɒn, 'big jingling sound',

rɒzɒnzɒn-ä, rɒzɒnzɒna, 'to announce far and wide',

zɛlailai, 'thin (as of texture of cloth or the like)',

gɦitiŋtiŋ, an onomatopoetic word,

adɔudɔu, 'a meaningless expression used in children's play',

alɛkhlɛkh, 'movements and actions',

ukɒskɒs, 'haste, hurry',

lɒthɒŋthɒŋ, 'bare (without any branch)', etc.

A few forms are followed by A also ; e.g.

alɔulɔu-A, alɔulɔua, 'very soft and delicate',

mathokthok-A, mathokthoka, 'a kind of vegetable plant',

lodɦomdɦom-A, lodɦomdɦoma, 'bulky and heavy', etc.

8.2416 Repetition with change in the consonants.

(i) Change in two consonants. There are a few repeated forms where the first two consonants are replaced by two other consonants, there being no change in the vowel position ; e.g.

kɔlɔuzɔpɔu, 'state of helplessness',

tɔlɔugɦɔtɔu, 'roaming about in struggle and strife', or 'loitering purposelessly',

tuluŋbɦutuŋ, 'state of being unsteady (as a boat in the waves)' etc.

(ii) Change in the second consonant. In some forms with more than one syllable, the second consonant is replaced by some other consonant ; e.g.

kelɔukesɔu, 'big noise due to shouting and quarrelling',

tuluŋtupuŋ, 'unsteady (as a boat)',

dɦɒlɒŋdɦɒppɒŋ, 'unsteady (as in walking),' etc.

8.2417 Repetition of the initial syllable.

In quite a few forms of more than one syllable (with or without having derivatives), beginning with a consonant, the initial consonant followed by the vowel /a/ precedes the form; and if the form begins with a vowel, then the vowel /a/ only precedes.

Forms with reduplication of this type express the sense of '.....and the like, etcetera'; e.g.

da daŋɔria, 'respectable persons, the lords and the like'; cf. daŋɔria, 'the lord, respectable one',

pa ppesa, 'the paisa and the like', i.e. 'money',

kha khɒrɒs, 'expenses etc.'; cf. khɒrɒs, 'expenses',

za zɒtɒn, 'arrangements'; cf. zɒtɒn, 'arrangement',

sa sinaki, 'acquaintance'; cf. sinaki, 'acquaintance',

sa seni, 'sugar etc.'; cf. seni, 'sugar',

ga gari, 'the whole body, the trunk'; cf. gari 'trunk',

ga gɒs, 'the trunk (of trees)'; cf. gɒs, 'tree',

za zoloŋa, 'bags etc.'; cf. zoloŋa, 'bag',

za zogar, 'arrangement',

pha phukɒn, 'The Phukan and other officers',

a ɒlɒŋkar, 'ornaments'; cf. ɒlɒŋkar, 'ornament',

ɦa ɦutax, 'lamentation,

ɦa ɦumuniaɦ, 'lamentation', etc.

a//mɒr/ɒn, amɒrɒn, 'till death' ; cf. mɒrɒn, 'death',

a//kaz/i, akazi, 'good for nothing woman' ; cf. kazi, 'an expert woman', kaz, 'work', etc.

8.2520 The Prefixes explained and illustrated.

8.2521 Prefixes of Class 1.

8.252110 a : It occurs in quite a good number of forms with various meanings.

In certain dialects of Eastern Assamese a occurs occasionally as ɐ when it is added to a root with /a/ ; e.g.

a-sar, asar, 'manner, behaviour',

a-sɒr, asɒr, 'to behave' ; cf. sɒr, 'to move',

a-dɒr, adɒr, 'welcome, to welcome, embrace',

a-zor, azor, 'to pull backward with force' ; cf. zor, 'force',

a-gur, agur, 'to surround' ; cf. ghur, 'to rotate',

a-beli, abeli, 'afternoon' ; cf. beli, 'the Sun', bela, 'time',

a-lɒs, alɒs, 'to consult, discuss',

a-bɒr, abɒr, 'to cover',

a-phal, aphal, 'to throw on the ground with force', cf. phal, 'to split into pieces',

a-phal-ia, ɒphɔlia, -ditto-, etc.

In the following, and a few others like them, a expresses the sense of 'till, upto', etc. e.g.

a-zibɒn, azibɒn, 'the whole life' ; cf. zibɒn, 'life',

a-mɒrɒn, amɒrɒn, 'till death', cf. mɒrɒn, 'death',

a-zanu, azanu, 'upto the knee' ; cf. zanu, 'knee' ; etc.

In the following a expresses the sense of 'opposite of, not, un- (of English)', and may be regarded as a negative form ; e.g.

a-biɔi, abiɔi, abiai, 'unmarried' ; cf. bia, 'marriage',

a-pɔinɒt, apɔinɒt, 'raw, unripe' ; cf. pɔinɒt, 'mature',

a-phuta, aphuta, 'unboiled (water)' ; cf. phuta, 'to boil', phut, 'to be boiled',

a-bɒtɔria, abɒtɔria, 'untimely' ; cf. bɒtɒr, 'time, season',

a-bɦɒza, abɦɒza, 'ugly, shapeless'; cf. bɦɒz~bɦãz, 'shape',

a-bɦok, abɦok, 'not hungry, want of appetite' ; cf. bɦok, 'hunger' ;

a-lɒg, alɒg, 'separate'; cf. nilɒg, 'distant' ; bilɒg, bɐleg, 'separate',

a-thani, athani, 'helpless, homeless' ; cf. than, sthan, 'position, place,'

a-lɒr, alɒr, 'stiff, motionless (with age)' ; cf. lɒr sɒr, lɒr, 'movement',

a-xɔi, axɔi, 'falsehood, intention' ; cf. xɔi, 'confession, acknowledgement', xɔi karɦ, 'to confess',

a-lagi, alagi, 'unfavourite (wife)' ; cf. lagi, 'favourite', lag, 'to be attached to, get together', etc.

8.252111 ã : It occurs in a limited number of forms in the two allomorphs ã and a as free variants[1] ; e.g.

ã-tɒr ~ a-tɒr, ãtɒr ~ atɒr, 'distance', also, 'to be off, get away' ; cf. tɒr, 'to escape, be saved',

ã-r ~ a-r, ãr ~ ar, 'to hang down (something)' ; cf. ur, 'to wear (chaddar or the like on the body)', ɐr, 'to give way, fall off', etc.

8.252112 ao expresses the sense of 'opposite of, lack of, bad', etc. ; e.g.

ao-ɦat, aoɦat, 'the other hand, left hand' ; cf. ɦat, 'hand',

1. The nasal form, i.e. ã is not used by majority of speakers now a days, except the purists who are guided by the written form of the language.

ao-bat, aobat, 'the wrong path, the opposite way' ;
cf. bat, 'way, path',

ao-mɒrɒn, aomɒrɒn, 'unnatural death' ;
cf. mɒrɒn, 'death',

ao-kan, aokan, 'indifferent, inattention' ; cf. kan, 'ear',

ao-gɔria, aogɔria, 'sloping' ; cf. gɒra, 'slop',

ao-gɔru, aogɔru, 'a fool, worthless person' ;
cf. gɔru, 'cow',

ao-pak, aopak, 'the opposite turn' ; cf. pak, 'turn', etc.

In the following $a_{\wedge}^{0}$ is used in pleonastic senses ; e.g.

ao-ɦɛla, aoɦɛla, 'negligence' ; cf. ɦɛla, 'negligence',

ao-khal, aokhal, 'to cleanse (utensils in water)' ;
cf. pɒkhal, 'to cleanse (utensils etc.)',

ao-dal, aodal, 'to wash (clothes)',

ao-ra, aora, 'to learn by heart', etc.

8.252113 an : It expresses 'movement, or down or below', and forms verb ; only one verb has been recorded with this prefix ; e.g.

an-dol, andol, 'to hang down, swing' ; cf. dol, 'to swing', also, dol, 'a string'.

8.252114 be : It expresses[1] 'opposite of, contrary to, without', etc. ; e.g.

be-ain, beain, 'contrary to law' ; cf. ain, 'rule, law',

be-nam, benam, 'assumed false name' ; cf. nam, 'name',

be-dɒkhɒl, bedɒkhɒl, 'illegal occupation', also, 'the act of disposing one's property, eviction' ;
cf. dɒkhɒl, 'occupation',

1. It is a Persian form, but used as a native one in the language, and hence its inclusion.

be-tar, betar, 'wireless, radio'; cf. tar ~ tār, 'wire',

be-ɦus, beɦus, 'senseless, unconscious'; cf. hus, 'consciousness,'

be-sɒrkari, besɒrkari, 'non-government, unofficial', etc.

8.252115 bi expresses a variety of meanings such as 'lack of, bad, foreign, opposite of,' etc. and occurs in the allomorphs bi and bɛ which are conditioned morphologically; e.g.

bi-paŋ, bipaŋ, 'state of helplessness'; cf. paŋ, 'to think, plan,'

bi-lap, bilap, 'bewailing, crying'; cf. alap, 'talk, discussion',

bi-mɒn, bimɒn, 'morose, sad heart; cf. mɒn, 'mind',

bi-lai, bilai, 'pitiable condition'; cf. alai, 'neglected state', lai, 'indulgence',

bi-budɦi, bibudɦi, 'perplexed'; cf. budɦi, 'intelligence, trick',

bi-dexi, bidexi, 'foreign'; cf. dexi, 'of the country', dex, 'country, land',

bi-lat, bilat, 'foreign land'; cf. lat, 'land, area'.

In some cases bi is used pleonastically. The following forms are very common and regarded as more elegant; e.g.

bi-nax, binax, 'destruction, to destroy'; cf. nax, 'destruction, to destroy',

bi-ɦin, biɦin, 'without'; cf. ɦin, 'without',

bi-rɒs, birɒs, 'to compose, write'; cf. rɒs, to compose',

bi-sɒr, bisɒr, 'to move about'; cf. sɒr, 'to move about', etc.

In the following, bi seems to affect simple verbalization; e.g.

bi-kɒta, bikɒta, 'to distort (as the face)'; cf. nikɒta, 'to open out (the mouth or the eyes)',

bi-raz, biraz, 'to shine, prevail upon'; cf. rɒz, 'to prevail',

bigɒr, bigɒr, 'to slip down, change (as mind)'; cf. bagɒr, 'to roll on, side', gɒra, 'slop',

bi-dɒr, bidɒr, 'to be rent asunder'; cf. bidar, 'to tear asunder',

bi-ɒl, biɒl, 'to permeate, extend (as oil or grease)',

bi-ɒp, 'biɒp, 'to extend, overflow', etc.

bɛ occurs in a few forms as follows; e.g.

bɛ-lɛg, bɛlɛg, } 'separate,' also bilɒg, 'separate';
bɛ-lɒg, bɛlɒg, } cf. lɒg, 'together, companion', nilɒg, 'distant',

bɛ-lta, bɛlta, 'to open up (the mouth or eyes)'; cf. ulta, 'to turn upward, roll up', etc.

8.252116 ba: It occurs in the following two allomorphs conditioned morphologically on selection: ba and bɒ; e. g.

ba: ba-kõɦ, bakõɦ, 'to scratch'; cf. akõɦ, 'to scratch',

ba-gɒr, bagɒr, 'to roll down'; cf. ui-gɒr 'to drip off', bigɒr, 'to slip down, change (as mind)',

ba-khan, bɒkhan, 'to praise',

ba-than, bathan, 'abode of cattle'; cf, sthan, 'place', athani, 'helpless, homeless',

bɒ: bɒ-khɒl, bɒkhɒl, 'a piece, bark or skin'; cf. khɒl, khola, 'hard cover',

bɒ-khɒlia, bɒkhɔlia, 'to peel off (skin of fruits)',

bɒ-kɒta, bɒkɒta, 'a lump, mass',

bɒ-sɛra, bɒsɛra, 'degenerated'; cf. sɛra, 'rejected',

bɒ-dɒl, bɒdɒl, 'change', bɒdɒla, 'to change', bɒdɔli, 'change, in place of',

bɒ-ɦɒl, bɒɦɒl, 'wide, extensive', bɒɦɒla, 'to extend',

bɒ-kɒlɒm, bɒkɒlɒm, 'sign (on behalf of some body)', etc.

8.252117 ɦɛ̃n : It expresses 'down, oblique', etc., and occurs in three allomorphs, ɦɛ̃m, ɦɛn and ɦɛ̃ which are phonologically conditioned ; e. g.

ɦɛm occurs before bilabials,

ɦɛn occurs before alveolars, and

ɦɛ̃ occurs elsewhere, and also in free variation with ɦɛn in one case ; e.g.

ɦɛm-belia, ɦɛ̃mbelia, 'to bellow (as cows)',

ɦɛm-bɛ̃lɒni, ɦɛ̃mbɛ̃lɒni, 'bellowing (of cows)' ; cf. bɛ:, 'bellowing (of cows or calves)',

ɦɛn-dol, ɦɛndol, 'to press down, heave, swing' ; cf. andol, 'to hang down', dol, 'to swing, a string',

ɦɛn-dali, ɦɛndali, 'a platform suspended from the roof inside the kitchen for keeping things', or 'bamboo machang for stay of creepers like gourd, cucumber etc. to grow',

ɦɛ̃-dali, ɦɛ̃dali, same as ɦɛndali above ;

ɦɛ̃-pa, ɦɛ̃pa, } 'to pant, to breathe briskly' ; cf. upha,
ɦɛ̃-pha, ɦɛ̃pha, } 'to swell',

ɦɛ̃-kɛra, ɦɛ̃kɛra, 'oblique, slanting, bent, crooked' ; cf. kɛ̃ra, 'squint (as eye)', etc.

8.252118 ni expresses a variety of meanings such as 'certainty, devoid of, off, separateness, opposite', etc., and at places, may be equated to English 'un-'. It occurs in a large number of forms ; e.g,

ni-kɔrun, 'unkind, cruel' ; cf. kɔruua, 'pity, kindness, 'sympathy',

ni-khut, nikhut, 'unblemished, faultless' ; cf. khut, 'blemish, fault, sigu',

ni-dɦɒni, nidɦɒni, 'poor' ; cf. dɦɒni, 'rich', dɦɒn, 'wealth',

ni-bɦaz, nibɦaz, nibɦãz, 'straight, unadulterated' ; cf. bɦaz, bɦãz, 'bend, blend, adulteration',

ni-rɒb, nirɒb, 'quiet, silent, noiseless' ; cf. rɒb, 'noise',

ni-rɒx, nirɒx, 'sapless, dry' ; cf. rɒx, 'juice',

ni-buka, nibuka, 'dumb, voiceless',

ni-sina, nisina, 'like, alike' ; cf. sina, 'acquainted', sin, 'sign',

ni-lɒg, nilɒg, 'distant' ; cf. alɒg, 'separate', lɒg, 'together, companion',

ni-sa, nisa, 'to remove (the old thatch for repair of the roof)' ; cf. sa, 'to cover (with thatch)'

ni-kɒta, 'to uncover (the teeth or the eye)',

ni-gɒr, nigɒr, 'to drip off (water or any liquid)' ; cf. bagɒr, 'to roll down', gɒra, 'slop',

ni-zɒr, nizɒr, 'to drip off drop by drop' ; cf. zɒr, 'to percolate, ooze out',

ni-rɒɦa, nirɒɦa, 'to cause to be slightly dry',

ni-zapi, nizapi,[1] 'permanent, settled (for a long time ?)' ; cf. zap, 'to fold, fold' etc.

Sometimes ni occurs as a simple verbalizing morpheme, or is used pleonastically ; e.g.

ni-rup, nirup, 'to determine, give final shape (to ideas)' ; cf. rup, 'shape, form, beauty',

ni-rodɦ, nirodɦ, 'to stop, oppose' ; cf. rodɦ, 'to stop, oppose',

ni-bar, nibar, 'to forbid, stop' ; cf. bar, 'to forbid',

ni-kal, nikal 'to kill, destroy' ; ni-suka, nisuka, 'to console', etc.

8.252119 o : It occurs in a few forms which are mostly verbs. In some dialect, this o is not distinguished from the prefix u (§ 8.252122) ; e.g.

o-lɒm, olɒm, 'to hang down' ; cf. alɒm, 'stay, help',

o-kal, okal, 'to retch',

---

1. In the *ChandraKānta Abhidhāna* nizapi has been derived as niz-api, which, I think, is caused due to confusion, and in which case ap should have occurred as ip after niz ; see *op*, §8.2238.

o-lɒt, olɒt, 'to return'; cf. palɒt, 'to return', olɒt-palɒt, 'topsyturvy',

o-la, ola, 'to get ready, come out',

o-pɒz, opɒz, 'to be born',

o-mɒl, omɒl, 'to play',

o-lɒg, olɒg, 'greetings, welcome'; cf. olɒgɒni, 'greeting', etc.

8.252120 on: It occurs in one verb derivation only; e.g. on-dola, ondola, 'to darken (as by spreading of clouds in the sky)', also, by extension of meaning, 'to make a sad or gloomy face'.

8.252121 pa: It occurs in a few derivations in the following senses; e.g.

pa-gul, pagul, 'to ruminate'; cf. gol~gul, 'to mix up, dissolve (in some liquid)',

pa-ɦɒr, paɦɒr, 'to forget'; cf. ɦɒr, 'to steal, disappear',

pa-kɒr, 'pakɒr, 'to catch hold of',

pa-lɒt, palɒt, 'return, 'to return'; cf. ulɒt, 'to return',

pa-zal, pɒzal, 'to sharpen'; cf. zal, 'to kindle', zɒl, 'to shine',

pa-than, pɒthan, 'foot of the bed'; cf. than, sthan, 'place',

pa-thali, pɒthali, 'width, breadth'; cf. ɒthali-pɒthali, 'in disarray', etc.

In a few forms pa occurs in the allomorph pɒ also, e.g.

pɒ-lɒm, pɒlɒm, 'delay, late'; cf. bilɒm, 'late, delay', as alɒm bilɒm, etc.

8.252122 u: It is a very productive derivative and is used to express a wide range of meanings as, 'up, upward motion, against, over, excess, without', etc.; e.g.

u-dɦatu, udɦatu, 'breathless, impatient', cf. dɦatu, life, pulse, breath',

u-dɦa, udɦa, 'to rise, go up'; cf. dɦa, 'to run',

u-dɦao, udɦao, 'running out, empty' ; cf. dɦa, 'to run',

u-xaɦ, uxaɦ, 'breath, inhalation' ; cf. nixaɦ, 'exhalation', xa, xaɦ, 'breath',

u-ɒl, uɒl, 'to be torn, decompose',

u-buria, uburia, 'to lay up side down' ; cf. bur, 'to sink down',

u-dɒga, udɒga, 'to inspire', udɒgɒni, 'inspiration',

u-dɒŋa, udɒŋa, 'to lift up (the lid or cover), uncover', cf. daŋ, 'to raise, lift up',

u-gar, ugar, 'to belch out' ; cf. gar 'to fill in',

u-gɦal, ugɦal, 'to uproot' ; cf. gɦal, 'to dig into infamy',

u-kɒl, ukɒl, 'to be in excess',

u-kɒt, ukɒt, 'to dig out and scatter',

u-khɒɦ, ukhɒɦ, 'to swell' ; cf. khɒɦ, 'to fall off, slip down',

u-sat, usat, 'sudden excitement' ; cf. bisat, 'restlessness', sɔti uth, 'to be excited',

u-sata, usɒta, 'to instigate, incite',

u-tɒl, utɒl, 'to be boiled' ; cf. tɒl, 'to move, be moved',

u-zɒl, uzɒl, 'to be bright, shine',

u-za, uza, 'to go upstream' ; cf. za, 'to go',

u-dɦar, udɦar,[1] 'to rescue, save', also, 'rescue, safety',

u-tar, utar, 'to save' ; cf. tar, 'to save', tɒr, 'to be saved',

u-par, upar, 'to destroy, create havoc',

u-sɒrga, usɒrga, 'dedication, offering',

u-sɒrg, usɒrg, 'to dedicate, offer', etc.

1. The purists among the highly educated speakers use the Skt. prefix ut~ud in the last five items and in a few other derivations.

8.252123 xɒ indicates the meaning of 'with, good', or is used pleonastically. It has four allomorphs conditioned morphologically on selection ; they are : xɒ, xa, xã and xo.[1]

xɒ : xɒ-zib, xɔzib, 'living, with life, alive' ; cf. zib, zibɒ, 'life',
xɒ-thik, xɔthik, 'certain, sure' ; cf. thik, 'true, exact',
xɒ-bɒl, xɒbɒl 'strong',
xɒ-bɦɒe, xɒbɦɒe, 'with fear' ; cf. bɦɒe, 'fear',
xɒ-gɦɒn, xɒgɦɒn, 'frequent' ; cf. gɦɒn, 'thick, frequent',
xɒ-phɒl, xɒphɒl, 'successful' ; cf. phɒl, 'fruit, result',
xɒ-dɒe, xɒdɒe, 'kind, favourable' ; cf. dɒea, 'kindness',
xɒ-zɒn, xɒzɒn, 'gentleman' ; cf. zɒn, 'man, people',
xɒ-kam, xɒkam, 'ceremony, auspicious function' ; cf. kam, 'work, job',
xɒ-strik, xɒstrik, 'along with wife (and children)',
xɒ-zɒl, xɒzɒl, 'wet, moistened with tears (as eye)',
xɒ-drix, xɒdrix, 'alike', etc.

xa : xa-rɔthi, 'charioteer' ; cf. rɒthi, 'fighter on a chariot', rɒth, 'chariot',
xa-tola, xatola, 'a prominent disciple of the *Satra* in Assam',
xa-thɒn, xathɒn, xathon, 'capability, ability' ; cf. thɒn, 'fresh growth, freshness',
xa-dɒr, xadɒr, 'love and affection' ; cf. adɒr, 'welcome, love and affection',
xa-bɒt, xabɒt, 'to embrace',
xa-mix, xamix, 'non-vegetarian, with fish, meat, eggs'.

xã[2] : xã-zat, xɒ̃zat, 'trust, faith (as in genuineness)' ; cf. zat, 'caste, birth',

1. This morpheme xɒ with the various allomorphs are historically derived from more than one Skt. prefixes and words.

2. Nasal pronunciation of this form is almost losing its ground, and used only by a few purists : ordinarily, there is practically no difference between xa and xã.

xã-sar, xɒ̃sar, 'key',

xã-phura, xɒ̃phura, 'co-traveller, companion' ; cf. phur, 'to move, travel, go',

xã-phura, xɒ̃phura, 'a tray for betelnut with cover', also, by extension of meaning, 'case with cover', also, 'a cover',

xã-raɦ, xɒ̃raɦ, 'pinchers, tongs',

xã-tor, xãtor, 'to swim' ; cf. tɒr, 'to cross over',

xã-zal, xɒ̃zal, 'to kindle, restore to vigour' ; cf. zal, 'to kindle, light',

xã-zal, xɒ̃zal, 'new, fresh', etc.

xõ occurs in a few derivations ; e.g.

xõ-ɒr, xõɒr, 'to remember',

xõ-ɒr-ɒni, xõɒrɒni, 'remembrance, reminiscences',

xõ-sɒr, xõsɒr, 'to extend (as contagious disease)' ; cf. sɒr, 'to move, crawl',

xõ-xɔrir, xõxɔrir, 'with the body', etc.

8.252124 xu. It expresses the sense of 'good, just', etc. ;

e.g. xu-tham, xutham, 'well shaped (body), stout',

xu-nam, xunam, 'fame',

xu-kathi, xukathi, 'durable, seasoned (wood)',

xu-komɒl, xukomɒl, 'soft, delicate',

xu-sɒl, xusɒl, 'advantage, advantageous' ; cf. sɒl, 'advantage',

xu-zɒn, xuzɒn, 'good man',

xu-din, xudin, 'good day, auspicious day' ; cf. din, 'day',

xu-dur, xudur, far away ; cf. dur, 'distant',

xu-lɒbɦ, xulɒbɦ, 'cheap, easily available',

xu-meru, xumeru, 'the North Pole', etc.

8.252125 so : It appears to be onomatopoetic and pleonastic ; and occurs in a few verbal derivations[1] ; e.g.

so-sɒr, sosɒr, 'to crawl' ; cf. xosɒr, 'to extend (as contagious disease)', sɒr, 'to move about',

so-rok, sorok, 'to cleanse or scrape (with hoe)' ; cf. rok, 'to scoop out',

so-sa, sosa, 'the act of scraping', etc.

8.252126 ku : It indicates 'opposite of, bad, disagreeable', etc., and occurs as follows : e.g.

ku-rup, kurup, 'odd looking, ugly' ; cf. rup, 'beauty, shape',

ku-mɔti, kumɔti, 'ill disposition, bad decision' ; cf. mɔti, 'mind, disposition', mɒt, 'consent',

ku-meru, kumeru, 'the South Pole',

ku-bas, kubas, 'bad words',

ku-kam, kukam, 'bad work',

ku-kɒtha, kukɒtha, 'bad words, back biting',

ku-bad, kubad, 'infamy',

ku-sɒkrɒ, kusɒkrɒ, 'conspiracy, evil design', etc.

8.2522 Prefixes of Class 2.

8.252210 There are only two prefixes in this Class : (i) ɒna, and (ii) unɒ. They may be directly added before the root or before morphemes of Class 1 in morphological constructions.

8.252211 ɒna. This morpheme expresses the idea of 'opposite of, not', and may be regarded as 'negative' and equated to English un-, -less, in- or im-, as in unhurt, unless, inhuman, and impossible respectively.

It has three allomorphs : ɒn, ɒna, and ɒ ; e.g.

ɒn occurs before vowels, and may precede a of Class I morpheme ;

---

1. Some people pronounce so as sõ also as free variant.

ɒna and ɒ both occur before consonants, and are conditioned morphologically ; e.g.

ɒn : ɒn-ɒbɦigjɒ, ɒnɒbɦigjɒ, 'inexperienced' ; cf. ; ɔbɦigjɒ, 'experienced', ɔbɦigjɒta, 'experience',

ɒn-ɒntɒ, ɒnɒntɒ, 'endless' ; cf. ɒntɒ, 'end, finish',

ɒn-astha, ɒnastha, 'no confidence' ; cf. astha, 'confidence',

ɒn-itsa, ɒnitsa, 'loss or want of will, desires' ; cf. itsa, 'desire, will, wish',

ɒn-arzɒ, ɒnarzɒ, 'non-Aryan' ; cf. arzɒ, 'the Aryans',

ɒn-a-ɦar, ɒnaɦar, 'without food, starvation' ; cf. aɦar, 'food',

ɒn-a-sar, ɒnasar, 'improper conduct, mannerslessness' ; cf. asar, 'manners, behaviour',

ɒn-a-dɒr, ɒnadɒr, 'neglect' ; cf. adɒr, 'welcome, to welcome, love and affection', etc.

ɒna occurs as follows ; e.g.

ɒna-ɦɒk, ɒnaɦɒk, 'unnecessary', cf. ɦɒk, 'just, true', also, ɦɒ, 'to be',

ɒna-thiti, ɒnathiti, 'helpless' ; cf. thiti, sthiti, 'presence, existence',

ɒna-bristi, ɒnabristi, 'draught, want of rain' ; cf. (Skt.) bristi, 'rain',

ɒna-ɖox, ɒnaɖox, 'faultless, absence of guilt',

ɒna-tār, ɒnatār, 'wireless, radio', etc.

ɒ occurs as follows ; e.g.

ɒ-karɒn, ɒkarɒn, 'without any reason' ; cf. karɒn, 'reason',

ɒ-niti, ɒniti, 'injustice' ; cf. niti, 'law, rule',

ɒ-mil, ɒmil, 'disharmony' ; cf. mil, 'harmony',

ɒ-kɒtha, ɒkɒtha, 'bad manners, injustice, bad thing',

ɒ-bɦɒe, ɒbɦɒe, 'fearlessness' ; cf. bɦɒe, 'fear',

ɒ-mɒt, 'ɒmɒt, 'disagreement'; cf. mɒt, 'consent',

ɒ-buz, ɔbuz, 'adament'; buz, buzɒni, 'understanding',

ɒ-buzɒn, ɔbuzɒn, 'young in age'; cf. buzɒn, 'fairly big',

ɒ-mɒr, ɒmɒr, 'immortal'; cf. mɒr 'to die', mɒrɒn, 'death',

ɒ-dɦir, ɔdɦir, 'restless'; cf. dɦir, 'gentle, slow',

ɒ-bi-ɦɒne, ɔbiɦɒne, 'without'; cf. biɦin, 'without',

ɒ-bi-sar, ɔbisar, 'injustice'; cf. bisar, 'search, 'discrimination', etc.

8.252212 unɒ. It indicates the sense of 'less, (less by one in case of derivation of numerals)', and may precede a and u.

unɒ occurs in the allomorphs, unɒ, una, unu and un; their distribution is in part morphologically conditioned; e.g. un occurs generally before forms beginning with vowels, and unɒ and una occurs elsewhere; unu occurs in free variation with unɒ in a few forms only and this free variation in unu is generally dialectical; e.g.

un: uu-axi, unaxi, seventy-nine'; cf. axi 'eighty',

un-aɦ, unaɦ, 'a bit less',

un-u-kia, unukia, 'to just mention'; cf. u-kia, 'to shout', u-ki, 'a shout', kɒ, to speak',

un-tris, untris, 'twenty-nine',

un-sɔllis, unsɔllis, 'thirty-nine'; cf. sɔllis, 'forty'.

una: una-nɔbbɔi, unanɔbbɔi, 'eighty-nine'; cf. nɔbbɔi, 'ninety',

una-xɔttɔr, unaxɔttɔr, 'sixty-nine'; cf. xɔttɔr, 'seventy'.

unɒ: unɒ-xɒ, unɒxɒ, 'one less hundred, ninety-nine'; cf. xɒ, 'hundred',

unɒ-(b)is, unɔis, 'nineteen'; cf. bis, 'twenty', etc.

unɒ~unu: unɒ-pɒusas, unu-pɒusas, unɒpɒusas, unupɒusas, 'forty-nine'; cf. pɒusas, 'fifty',

unɒ-xɔttɔr, unu-xɔttɔr, unɒxɔttɔr, unuxɔttɔr, 'sixty-nine',

ɯɯɒ-xathi, ɯnu-xathi, ɯnɒxathi, ɯnuxathi, 'fifty-nine' cf. xathi, 'sixty'.

ɯnu ~ ɯn : ɯnu-axi, ɯn-axi, ɯnuaxi, ɯnaxi, 'seventy-nine'.

8.2523 Prefix of Class 3.

8.252310 There is only one morpheme of this class, nɛ, which is the negative morpheme for verbs and verbals.

8.252311 nɛ occurs in two allomorphs conditioned phonologically as follows :

n before vowels, and

nɛ elsewhere ; e. g.

n : n-an, nan, 'not to bring' ; cf. an, 'to bring',

n-ana, nɒna, 'not to cause to bring',

n-ãr, nãr, 'not to hang' ; cf. ãr, 'to hang',

n-ãra, nɒ̃ra, 'not to cause to hang',

n-ɛr, nɛr, 'not to give way, slip down, leave'; cf. ɛr, 'to give way',

n-ɛrua, nerua, 'not to remove, separate' ; cf. erua, 'to remove',

n-ola, nola, 'not to get ready, come out' ; cf. ola, 'to get ready',

n-olia, nulia, 'not to bring out',

n-ur, nur, 'not to fly' ; cf. ur, 'to fly',

n-urua, nurua, 'not to cause to fly',

n-ɯnukia, nɯnukia, 'not to mention' ; cf. ɯnukia, 'to mention', etc.

nɛ : The vowel of the allophone nɛ harmonizes with the first vowel after a consonant of the verb, except that, forms with / a / in that position have an alternative in which the vowel of the prefix, i.e. ɛ remains unharmonized ; e.g.

nɛ-kɒr, nɒkɒr, 'not to do', nɒkɒra, 'not to cause to do' ; cf. kɒr, 'to do', kɒra, 'to cause to do',

8.252311

nɛ-pɒrɦ, nɒpɒrɦ, 'not to read', nɒpɒrɦa, 'not to teach' ; cf. pɒrɦ, 'to read', pɒrɦa, 'to teach',

nɛ-bɒ, nɒbɒ, 'not to flow', noboa, 'not to cause to flow' ; cf. bɒ, 'to flow', boa, 'to cause to flow',

nɛ-di, nidi, 'not to give', nidilõ. '(I) hadn't given' ; cf. di, 'to give' ;

nɛ-xik, nixik, 'not to learn' ; cf. xik, 'to learn',

nɛ-bixa, nibixa, 'not to cause pain',

nɛ-bisar, nibisar, 'not to search', cf. bisar, 'to search',

nɛ-sin, nisin, 'not to know or recognize'; cf. sin, 'to know',

nɛ-de, nede, 'not to cross or jump over',

nɛ-gɔl, nɔgɔl, '(he) did not go',

nɛ-lɔi, nɛlɔi, 'having not taken' ;

nɛ-dɔure, nɔdɔure, '(he) does not run',

nɛ-dɦɔuabi, nɔdɦɔuabi, 'Don't make waves !',

nɛ-xo, nɔxo, 'not to sleep',

nɛ-khol, nɔkhol, 'not to open',

nɛ-topɒnia, nɔtopɒnia, 'not to sleep',

nɛ-lɛkh, nɛlɛkh, 'not to write',

nɛ-mɛl, nɛmɛl, 'not to open',

nɛ-pɛr, nɛpɛr, 'not to squeeze out',

nɛ-sɛk, nɛsɛk, 'not to strain or filter',

nɛ-xua, nɔxua, 'not to suit',

nɛ-xun, nɔxum, 'not to hear',

nɛ-khua, nɔkhua, 'not to feed' ; cf. khua, 'to feed', kha, 'to eat',

nɛ-xukua, nɔxukua, 'not to cause to be dry';

but, nɛ-kha, nɛkha, nakha, 'not to eat',

nɛ-kat, nɛkat, nakat, 'not to cut',

nɛ-mat, nɛmat, namat, 'not to call',

nɛ-bas, nɛbas, nabas, 'not to sort out or select',

nɛ-barɦ, nɛbarɦ, nabarɦ, 'not to grow', etc.

8.252312 This negative nɛ is the immediate constituent[1] of the base, and not of the root as is evidenced from its nature of vowel harmony. Cf. the following ; e.g.

nɛ-sat, nɛsat, nasat, 'not to spread out' ; but,

nɛ-satia nɔsɔtia, 'not to scatter' ; cf. sɔtia (< sat-iä), 'to scatter',

nɛ-khaa, nokhoa, '(you) do not eat' ; cf. khoa, '(you) eat', from kha-a > khoa, kha, 'to eat',

nɛ-mata, nɒmɒta, 'not to cause to invite' ; cf. mat, 'to invite', mat-ä> mɒta, 'to cause to invite',

nɛ-paraõ, nɒpɒraõ, '(I) do not cause to pluck' ; cf. par, 'to pluck', par-ä > pɒra, 'to cause to pluck',

nɛ-zaa, nozoa, 'the act of not going', ; cf. za, 'to go', za-a > zoa, 'the act of going',

nɛ-paa, nopoa, '(you) do not get' ; cf. pa, 'to get', pa-a > poa, '(you) get' ; nɛpala, '(you) did not get', etc.

8.252313 The occurrence of the negative morpheme nɛ is common to all verbs except the reduplicated ones where it is not very common ; the position of nɛ also varies in accordance with the type of reduplication of the verbs.

Completely reduplicated verbs (§ 8. 2411) may prefix nɛ to either part of the form, i.e. it may precede or get inserted in between the repeated forms. But the partially reduplicated verbs have it prefixed to the repeated part only[2] ; e.g.

nɛ-kulkula, nukulkula or kul nukula, 'not to gurgle',

---

1. William Bright (1957 : § 510) also brings out certain parallel case of harmonic or morphophonemic change in KAROK, that determines the IC of the forms.

2. It should be noted that the use of the negative morpheme is not frequent with the reduplicated verbs : negative of some other verbs are used to express negative of the reduplicated verbs, e.g.

kɛrmɛr nɒkɒr, 'do not circle round (like snakes)',

kulkul nɒkɒr, 'do not gurgle',

tigɦilgɦil nɒkɒr, 'do not loiter around (purposelessly)',

rɒzɒnzɒn nɒkɒr, 'do not spread (the news etc.)' ; cf. kɒr, 'to do', nɒkɒr, 'not to do', etc.

nɛ-tiktika, nitiktika or tik nitika, 'not to call like a lizard',

nɛ-tɒktɒka, nɒtɒktɒka or tɒk nɒtɒka, 'not to knock', etc.

But, note the following ; e.g.

kɛr nemɛra, 'not to circle round (like a snake)',

tighil nighila, 'not to loiter around (purposelessly)', etc.

8.30 Pronouns and Pronominals.

8.31 Morphologically pronouns belong to a subclass of nouns : both share the same set of case inflections, but differ in syntax and in derivation. Like the nouns, the pronouns also have prefixes and suffixes as peripheral derivatives, but reduplication and compounding are lacking in the latter.

8.3110 The root.

8.3111 The pronominal roots, unlike those of the nouns and verbs, are limited in number and different in derivational nature ; and hence, may be listed.

8.3112 The roots may be divided into the following groups according to their acceptance or otherwise of the pronominal prefixes. E.g.

I Personal :

A Non-demonstrative

(a) First Personal :

mo-, Singular,

am-, Plural.

(b) Third Personal :

apɒn-, direct address, respectful,

khɛn-, 'some one (indeterminative)'.

B Demonstrative

(a) Second Personal :

-o-, 'you (fam.)'

-om-, 'you (pol.)'.

(b) Third Personal :

-õ, polite,

-khet, very respectful,

-ou, indefinitive,

i, non-feminine, general,

-ī, feminine.

II Non-Personal :

ɔ, expresses place,[1] location,

-t, measure,

-tia, time,

-aɦan-, time,

-n-, manner, likeness, way.

8.32 The Pronominal Derivatives.

8.3210 The pronominal P(refixes) and S(uffixes) are grouped according to their distribution as follows. (The number preceding the morphemes refer to the serial order in the descriptions to follow : the last two digits of the section are only shown.).

Groups P 1	P 2	S 1	S 2
12 t 13 k 14 z	11 ɐ	21 o 22 ɦ 24 su 26 e 27 i	23 kua 25 (ɒ) ba

8.3211 ɐ-, P 2, expresses the sense of 'this, here', and may be regarded as a near demonstrative. It may be preceded by all the P 1 morphemes, and derives personal and non-personal pronouns and pronominal forms ; e.g.

---

1. The morpheme for place, viz. ɔ, meaning 'this place' is used as the most respectable Third Personal pronoun in the *Satra* circle of Assam ; e.g. the *Satrādhikāra*, the highest and the most revered authority in the *Satra* is addressed as ɔt, 'this honoured presence here', etc.

The different roots for time have many variants in different dialects in different areas, (Cf. Dr. B. Kakati ; 1962 : §§ 714-719).

ɛ-ɔ̃, ɛɔ̃, 'this person (respectable)',

ɛ-khet, ekhet, 'this person, respected gentleman (more respectable than ɛɔ̃),

ɛ-i, ei, 'this', always followed by some definitives, e.g. eikhɒn, 'this (of flat things)', eizɒn, 'this (referring to a man, respectable)', etc.

ɛ-ĩ, ei, 'this woman or girl (non polite)',

ɛ̂-te, ɛte, 'this measure', generally followed by -ɛk, -bor etc., e.g. ɛtek, 'this much', ɛ̂tebor, 'these, so much (pl. and dialectical)',

ɛ-tia, etia, 'now, at this time',

ɛ-ne, ɛne, 'like this, this manner', ɛnekɔi, 'like this', also, ɛnekuakɔi, 'like this', 'this way',

ɛ-ni, eni, 'this way, this direction', usually in the phrase, eni teni, 'hither and thither, this way and that way', etc.

8.3212 t-, P 1, expresses the sense of 'that, over there', and is regarded as the distant demonstrative. It may be followed by ɛ-, the p 2 morpheme.

t- occurs in two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, t and x which are mutually exclusive.

t- derives pronouns of Second and Third persons, and other demonstratives; e. g.

t- : t-o, to-, 'Second Person, familiar', e.g. tɒe, 'you', tok, 'to you' (Acc.), tor, 'your', tolɔi, 'to you (Dat.)', etc.

t-om-, tom-, 'Second Person, polite', e.g. tom-i, tumi, 'you, (Nom.), tomak, 'you (Acc.)', tomalɔi, 'to you (Dat.)', tomar, 'your', etc.

t-ɛɔ̃, tɛɔ̃, 'that gentleman', also, 'he (polite.)',

t-ai tai, (ei (<eĩ) has the allomorph ai after t-), 'that woman, girl',

t-ekhet, tekhet, 'that honoured gentleman (respectful)',

ta-, the stem for xi, 'he'; e.g. ta-k, tak, 'him', tar, 'his', talɔi, 'to him', tat, 'in him,' taɲãt, 'they, (dialectical)', etc.

t-ɔ-, tɔ-, 'that place'; e.g. tɔr, 'of that place', tɔt, 'at that place', tɔlɔi, 'to that place', etc.

tɛt, t-ɛt, 'that measure', e.g. tɛtek, 'that much', etc.

t-etia, tetia, 'at that time, then', tetiar, 'of that time', tetialɔi, 'to that time', tetiar pɒra, 'from that time', etc.

t-aɦani, taɦani, 'days of yore, ancient time', taɦanir, 'of those days, i.e. days long past', etc.

t-ɛne, tɛne, 'that-like', tenekɔi, 'like that, that way', etc.

t-eni, teni, 'that direction'; cf. eni teni (§. 8. 3211).

t-iman; timan, 'that much', etc.

x- : xi, 'he, that person (general and not respectful)'; in declension, the stem for all cases except the Absolute is ta- (cf. t- above). But the plural is xiɦɒ̃t, 'they (general)', xiɦɒ̃tɒk, 'them', xiɦɒ̃tɒr, 'their', etc.

x-ɔu, xɔu, 'that, over there', xɔuto, 'that one', xɔuzɒn, 'that gentleman', xɔuzɒn manuɦ, 'that gentleman over there', xɔukhɒn kitap, 'that book over there', xɔua, 'there, that one', etc.

x-ei, xei, 'that', generally followed by the definitives (§§ 8.4310-26, 8.4511-12 and 8.4514); e.g. xeizɒn manuɦ, 'that gentleman', xeigɒraki tirota, 'that lady', etc.

x-iman, ximan, 'that much, that quantity', etc.

x-ɛne, xɛne, 'that-like, (dialectical and substandard)'.

8.3213 k, P 1. It is indeterminative, indefinitive and interrogative; and may be followed by ɛ- (P 2). It occurs as follows; e.g.

k-i ki, 'what?', kibor, kibilak, 'what (pl.)'; kiɦ, 'which, (always sg.)', kiɦɒba, 'something', kiba, 'something', kisu, 'some quantity', kisuman, 'some quantity', etc,

k-ɛɛ̃, kɛɛ̃, 'some one (always sg.)',

k-ɔu, kɔn, 'who ?', kɔnbɔr, kɔnbilak, 'which (pl.)', kɔnɔ, 'anybody', kɔnɔ kɔnɔ, 'somebody (pl.)', kɔnɔba, 'anybody, somebody (generally sg.)',

k-ɔ-, kɔ-, 'where ?' ; e.g. kɔlɔi, 'to which place ?', kɔr, 'of which place ?', kɔt, 'where, in which place ?',

k-ɛt, kɛt, 'many, some', kɛtbɔr, 'some', kɛtbilak, 'some', kɛtɛk, 'how much ?',

k-etia, ketia, 'when ?', ketiaba, 'sometimes',

k-aɲani, kaɲani, 'when', kaɲaniba, 'sometimes (in the future)',

k-ɛne, kɛne, 'which-like ?', kɛneba, 'like something unusual', kɛnebakɔi, 'somehow', kɛnekua, 'what-like', kɛnekuakɔi, 'how ? in what manner', or 'by what means',

k-eni, keni, 'which direction ?', keniba, 'in some direction', kenibadi, 'by/in some direction',

k-ei-, kei-, 'how many (always followed by some definitive) ; e.g. keiklɒn kapɔr, 'how many pieces of clothes' ; keigɒraki tirota, 'how many ladies', keidal pensil, 'how many pencils', keiba-, 'many' (always followed by some definitives and the emphatic morpheme) ; e.g. keibaklɒno kapɔr, 'some/many/a few, pieces of clothes', keibazɒno manuɲ, 'some/many men', etc.

8.3214 z-, P 1. This is the morpheme for derivation of the relative pronouns, other pronominals and a few indeclinables ; may be followed by ɛ- (P 2).

It occurs as follows : e.g.

z-i, zi, 'who, which, what, that (Relative, sg.)',

zibɔr, zibilak, 'who, which, etc. (Relative, pl.)',

zixɒkɒl, 'those who (respectful, pl.)',

zi may be followed by the definitives ; e.g. zikhɒu ghɒr, 'the family which', zito lɔra, 'the boy which', etc.

ziɦ, 'that which, (always neuter and sg.)',

ziba, 'whichever',

zikɔi, 'by whichever means',

z-ou, zou, 'who, (Relative, not very common)', zoubor, zoubilak, 'those which (not very common)',

z-e, ze, 'that, (conjunctive, indeclinable), as in, xi kɔle ze, 'he said *that*.....',

z-ɛt, zɛt, 'that which measure' ; e.g. zɛtek~zɒtek, 'that which measure/quantity',

z-ei, zei, 'who, (Relative, and always sg.)',

z-ɔ-, zɔ-, 'where, the place which, (Relative)',

z-etia, zetia, 'when', zetialɔi, 'to whichever time', zetiar, 'of whichever time', zetiar pɒra, 'from whichever time', etc.

z-ɛn, zɛn, 'as if, like', zɛne, 'for example, e.g.',

zɛ̃neba, 'somehow (dialectical)',

zɛnekua, 'the like of which',

zɛnekuakɔi, 'in whichever manner or way',

zeniba, 'somehow', etc.

8.3220 The suffixes described and illustrated.

8.3221 -o, S 1. It indicates uncertainty and emphasis ; and may be followed by -ba ; e.g.

kou-o, kouo, 'whoever, some one (with emphasis)', kouoba, 'someone',

khɛn-o, khɛno, 'somebody, some one', etc.

8.3222 -ɦ, S 1. It is a neuter or non-personal morpheme and always occurs with the root i preceded by the P 1 morphemes (and dialectically, may be followed by -ba) ; e.g.

k-i-ɦ, kiɦ, 'what, which ? (always sg.)', kiɦɒba, 'something (may be some animal also)',

z-i-ɦ, ziɦ, 'what, which, that (all Relative, sg.)', ziɦɒba, 'whichever (not common)',

t-i-ɦ, tiɦ-, 'that one', as in ziɦɒke tiɦɒke, 'anything and/or everything', ziɦere tiɦere, 'by anything', etc.

8.3223 -kua, S 2, expresses the sense of 'like, as'; and is always preceded by ɛ- (P 2), and may be followed by -kɔi ; e.g.

ɛnekua, 'this-like', ɛnekuakɔi, 'in this manner',

tɛnekua, 'that-like', tɛnekuakɔi, 'in that manner, that way',

zɛnekua, 'which-like', zɛnekuakɔi, 'by whichever means',

kɛ̃nekua, 'what-like', kɛ̃nekuakɔi, 'how, in which manner', etc.

8.3224 -su, S 1, denotes quantity, measure etc. and occurs after the root i preceded by k (P 1). Forms derived this way may be repeated and followed by -kɔi ; e.g.

k-i-su, kisu, 'some, some quantity or measure', kisu kisukɔi, 'by some measure, by instalment', kisuman, 'some', etc.

8.3225 -ba, S 2, is a morpheme for expressing uncertainty, indefiniteness ; and may be preceded by ɦ, e and o (S 1).

ba occurs in two allomorphs : -ɒba and -ba.

ɒba occurs after forms ending in consonant, and,

ba occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

ki-ba, kiba, 'something',

kiɦ-ɒba, kiɦɒba, 'something', 'some animals', ziɦɒba tiɦɒba, 'anything and/or everything',

kono-ba, konoba, 'somebody',

kɛne-ba, kɛneba, 'like something unusual', kɛnebakɔi, 'by some means',

keni-ba, keniba, 'in some direction',

kei-ba-, keiba, as in keibakhnno, 'some pieces',

zi-ba, ziba, 'that which', etc.

8.3226 -e, S 1, forms indeclinables indicating 'manner'. It occurs, (besides with the nominals) with the root -n preceded by all the pronominal prefixes ; may be followed by kua, and ba (S 2).

For the examples, please refer to the prefixes and suffixes in sections 8.3223 and 8.3225 above.

8.3227 -i, S 1. It forms indeclinables indicating 'direction', and occurs with -n preceded by all the pronominal prefixes ; may be followed by the suffix -ba.

For examples, please refer to the prefixes, and the suffix -ba (§. 8.3225) above.

8.40 The Definitives.

8.41 There are two sets of sub-root derivatives (§§ 7.31-33) which may be said to function at once as number morphemes and as the English definite article 'the'. One set of such derivatives expresses definiteness of singular or single unit of men and things, and is called the Singular Definitives. The other set expresses definiteness of men and things in plural, and is called the Plural Definitives.

8.42 The Singular Definitives.

8.4210 The Singular definitives are larger in number, and besides expressing singularity or single units and definiteness, they always convey some additional sense whether an object referred to is big or small, round or flat or oblong, or in bunches or otherwise. They may express the senses such as 'respectful' or 'polite' or otherwise, as also male or female of men and animals.

8.4211 Distributionally, the Singular definitives are mutually exclusive of the Plural definitives, and suffixed to all nominals including the numerals and pronominals of the Third person.

8.4212 The Singular definitives suffixed to the numerals are called the Numeratives. Such numeratives with any numeral other than ɛk, meaning 'one', express definiteness only when they occur in phrases with some preceding nominal or pronominal ;

otherwise they lose the sense of definiteness when used syntactically as independent words in an utterance. But, with the numeral ɛk (ɛ- when the definitive begins with a consonant) the numeratives always express indefiniteness ; e.g.

ɛzɒn manuh or manuh ɛzɒn or manuh-ɛzɒn, '(any) one person,

duzɒn manuh or manuh duzɒn, '(any) two persons (polite)',

dɒhkhɒn kitap or kitap dɒhkhɒn, '(any) ten books',

sarigɒraki mɔhila or mɔhila sarigɒraki, '(any) four ladies',

keikhɒn kitap or kitap keikhɒn 'howmany books', etc.

But, note the following:

manuh-dɒhzɒn, 'the two persons (polite)',

kitap-dɒhkhɒn, 'the ten books',

mɔhila-sarigɒraki, 'the four ladies',

kitap-keikhɒn, '(all) the books', etc.

8.4213 From the above it has become evident that Singular number or singularity of Assamese nominals is always explicit being expressed by derivatives (by the Singular Definitives) and is not automatic or implicit.

8.43 The following are some of the most important definitives[1] of the language.

---

1. Dr. B. Kakati (1962 : §§ 573–586) has used the term 'enclitic definitives or numeratives' for these derivatives.

The extensive use of the definitives is a unique feature of Assamese among all the New Indo-Aryan languages. Dr. M.B. Emeneau (1956 : pp. 1-16) discussed the use of such forms in the N I A and Dravidian languages. He holds the view that such features first originated in the Aryan languages, and then spread to the Dravidian languages.

Dr. Kakati (1962 : § 860) discusses in extenso the probable origin of such features in Assamese.

I have also discussed the subject in detail in the article 'Classifiers and Quantifiers in Assamese', published in the STUDIES IN INDIAN LINGUISTICS (Professor M. B. Emeneau Sastipūrti Volume) published by the Linguistic Society of India, 1965.

8.4310 zɒn. It is used for persons, man only, in respectful or polite senses ; e.g.

manuɦzɒn, 'the man',
lɔrazɒn, 'the boy',
xikhjɒkzɒn, 'the teacher',
ɛzɒn, 'one (person, pol.)',
duzɒn, 'two (persons, pol.)', etc.

8.4311 zani : [zɒn plus i (8.2251)]. It is used for woman (in impolite sense), and for females of animals ; e.g.

manuɦzɒni, 'the woman (any woman)', not respectful,
soalizɒni, 'the girl',
bandizɒni, 'the maid-servant',
gaizɒni, 'the cow',
kukurzɒni, 'the bitch',
ɦãɦzɒni, 'the duck',
ɛzɒni, 'one (female)',
sarizɒni, 'four (female)', etc.

8.4312 gɒraki. It is used for man or woman in very respectful senses ; e.g.

manuɦgɒraki, 'the gentleman or lady',
tirotagɒraki, 'the lady',
ɛgɒraki, 'one (respectable gentleman or lady)',
dugɒraki, 'two (respectable gentlemen or ladies)', etc.

8.4313 to. It is used for inanimate object, or male of any animal ; also, for man in impolite senses.

to has two allomorphs : to and ta.

ta occurs after numerals only ; and,

to occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

to : manuɦto, 'the man',
sakɒrto, 'the servant',
putɛkto, 'the (his) son' ; cf. putɛk, 'his son', or son in general,

karɒnto, 'the reason',

ɦukumto, 'the order',

bandɒrto, 'the monkey',

phulto, 'the flower', etc.

ta : ɛta, 'one',

tinita, 'three, the three',

dɒɦota, 'ten, the ten'; cf. dɒɦ, 'ten',

ɦazarta, 'thousand, the thousand', etc.

8.4314 ti. It is same as to and ta as discussed above, but used to express dimunitive sense only ; e.g.

soaliti, 'the cute little girl',

lɔrati, 'the cute little boy',

bɦaiti, 'the small brother',

bɦɒniti, 'the little sister',

duti, 'two (of small things or boys or girls)', etc.

8.4315 khɒn. It is used for things which are generally flat, square or rectangular, big or small, long or short, abstract (?) or concrete ; e.g.

kaporkhɒn, 'the piece of cloth',

mɛkhɛlakhɒn, 'the (Assamese) skirt',

nɔikhɒn, 'the river',

kitapkhɒn, 'the book',

mɒtɒrkhɒn, 'the motor car',

relkhɒn, 'the train',

akaxkhɒn, 'the sky',

gɦɒrkhɒn, 'the family',

dexkhɒn, 'the country',

amerikakhɒn, 'the United States of America',

eikhɒn, 'this one (of flat things)', etc.

8.4316 khɒni : [khɒn plus i (§ 8.2248)]. This is same as khɒn, but dimunitive in sense ; e.g.

sɔbikhɒni, 'the little picture',

ɦatkhɒni, 'the nice little hand',

xikhɒni, 'that one (of something small)', etc.

8.4317 dal : it is used for things which are solid and oblong, round, long or short, flexible or stiff ; e.g.

pensildal, 'the pencil',

kathdal, 'the log of wood',

gɒsdal, 'the tree',

tãrdal, 'the wire',

zɔridal, 'the rope',

bɦaldal, 'the good one',

dudal, 'two, the two', etc.

dal is used for person also to express utter disrespect ; e.g.

manuɦdal, 'the man (whom I do not like)',

bɦaiɛkdal, 'his brother, (who is, perhaps, wicked)', etc.

8.4318 dali : [dal plus i]. It is the dimunitive of dal.

8.4319 pat. It is used for things which are flat, thin, wide or narrow, long or short ; e.g.

zathipat, 'the spear',

bɔthapat, 'the row',

xɔupat, 'that one over there', etc.

8.4320 sɒta : [sɒt plus ʌ (§ 8.2246)]. It is almost same as pat, but may be used for bigger things also; e.g.

kathsɒta, 'the plank of wood',

khɔrisɒta, 'the piece of fuel',

ɛsɒta, 'one piece', etc.

8 4321 khila : [khil plus ʌ (§ 8.2246)]. It is used for leaf-like things, e.g.

pɒnkhila, 'the betel leaf',

kagɒzkhila, 'the piece of paper',

patkhila, 'the leaf', etc.

8.4322 kosa : [kos plus A]. It is used for bundles or things in a mass ; e.g.

sulikosa, 'the lock of hair',

khɔrikosa, 'the bundle of fuel',

ɛkosa, 'one bundle', etc.

8.4323 mutha : [muth plus A]. It is same as kosa.

8.4324 muthi : [muth plus i]. It is dimunitive of mutha.

8.4325 tār : It is used for broom-like things ; e.g.

barɦɒnitār, 'the broom',

sulitār, 'the lock of hair',

kusitār, 'the brush (used in brushing the warp of clothes)', etc.

8.4326 gɒs : It is used for wick-like things ; e.g.

xɔlitagɒs, 'the wick',

zɔrigɒs, 'the rope', etc.

8.44 The Plural Definitives.

8.4410 The Plural definitives form plural of the substantives in Assamese. Like the Singular, the Plural is also derivational and not grammatical. The Verbs have no plural, neither derivative nor grammatical.

8.4411 As stated already (§ 8.41) the plural morphemes express plurality and definiteness both at once. It should be noted that the indefinite plural, or rather simple plurality is expressed by the nominal alone, or by addition of some independent nouns of multitude meaning 'many', 'more', etc. E.g.

(i) manuɦ mɒre, 'men die',

(ii) ialɔi bɔɦut lɔra aɦise, 'many boys have come here',

(iii) mɒe azi dɦer kitap kinilõ, 'I have bought many books today'.

In the first utterance, manuh, all alone, means 'men' which is plural. In the second and third utterances bɔhut and dher mean 'many' and 'too many' respectively; but, lora and kitap remain as they are without any additional morpheme attached to them.

8.45 Plural definitives are few; and except for one morpheme, viz. -lok, all the morphemes are common for both the nouns and the pronouns. The Plural definitives are described and illustrated below.

8.4510 bor and bilak. These are the most important and commonest plural morphemes of the language used for men and things. bor is used for general, and bilak is a little elegant and respectful for man.

They may occur with all nouns, and with pronouns of the Third Person and non-personals; e.g.

manuhbor, manuhbilak, 'men',

tirotabor, tirotabilak, 'women',

gɔrubor, gɔrubilak, 'cows',

panibor, panibilak, 'large quantity of water',

xonbor, xonbilak, 'large quantity of gold',

pɔrialbor, pɔrialbilak, 'the families',

hãhibor, hãhibilak, 'the laughters, the smiles',

bhalbor, bhalbilak, 'the good ones',

dadabor, dadabilak, 'the elder brothers',

mahiskbor, mahiskbilak, 'the mother's younger sisters',

phukɔnbor, phukɔnbilak, 'the Phukans' (Phukan title holders),

ibor, ibilak, 'these (men or things)',

xibor, xibilak, 'those (men or things)',

zibor, zibilak, 'those who/which',

zenebor, nenebilak, 'those like which',

konobor, 'konobilak, 'some (for both men and things)', etc.

8.4511 ɦ̃ɒt. It is the plural for animate beings, semantically for men only, although it may be used with terms denoting animals. It appears to be the plural for very familiar persons, and hence, may have the sense of endearment.

ɦ̃ɒt, when used with nouns meaning some animals, does not mean the plural of that noun, but expresses some abuse for man ; e.g.

gadɦɒɦ̃ɒt, 'you fools', literally, 'the donkeys', cf. gadɦɒ, 'donkey',

gɔruɦ̃ɒt, 'you fools', lit. 'the cows',

kukurɦ̃ɒt, '(you) dogs', cf. kukur, 'dog',

gaɦɔriɦ̃ɒt, '(you) swines', i.e. 'the dirty ones', cf. gaɦɔri, 'swine', etc.

with nouns meaning persons :

lɔraɦ̃ɒt, 'you boys, dear boys',

aitiɦ̃ɒt, 'you girls, dear small girls',

aiɦ̃ɒt, -ditto-

ziariɦ̃ɒt, 'dear daughters',

bopaɦ̃ɒt, 'dear boys, dear sons',

dadaɦ̃ɒt, '(my) elder brother and his companions',

deutaɦ̃ɒt, '(my) father and his companions', or, 'my father and other persons with him',

maɦiɦ̃ɒt, '(my) mother's younger sister and her friends',

zɔduɦ̃ɒt, 'Jadu and others',

bɔruaɦ̃ɒt, 'Mr. Barua and his party',

gɔrɔkhiaɦ̃ɒt, 'the cowherds', etc.

The above makes it clear that ɦ̃ɒt does not just pluralize the nouns, but adds some special meaning. Contrast the above with the following nouns in bor and bilak (§. 8.4510) ; e.g.

bɔruabɔr, bɔruabilak, 'the Baruas', i.e. the Barua title holders only, and none else ;

dadabɔr, dadabilak, 'the elder brothers', and not others, i.e. just the pl. of dada ; etc.

With the Third personal pronouns, ɦɒ̃t acts just as an ordinary plural morpheme ; e.g.

ihɒ̃t, 'these (men or women, boys or girls)',

xiɦɒ̃t, 'they',

eiɦɒ̃t, 'these girls or women',

taiɦɒ̃t, 'those girls or women', etc.

8.4512 khɒn, is derogatory and used for animate beings, for nouns meaning animals, to abuse persons ; and for nouns meaning persons in utter disrespect only ; e.g.

gɔrukhɒn, 'you fools' ; kukurkhɒn, 'you dogs' ;

zɔkhinikhɒn, 'you witches', cf. zɔkhini, 'witch',

alɔɦikhɒn, 'you, posing as guests', i.e. 'those who are not guests but burdens', cf. alɔɦi, 'guest',

lɔrakhɒn, 'you boys' ; soalikhɒn, 'you girls', etc.

8.4513 lok is respectful and occurs with the following pronouns only ; e.g.

tomalok, 'you, (pol. pl.)', cf. tumi, 'you (pol. sg.)',

aponalok, 'you, (very respectful, grammatically 3rd. person)',

ɛõlok, 'these gentlemen or ladies', (very respectable),

tɛ̃lok, 'those gentlemen or ladies, (very respectable)', cf. ɛõ/tɛ̃õ, 'this/that gentleman or lady', etc.

ami, 'we', though pl. in meaning also takes on the pl. lok in some dialects to express extreme politeness ; e.g. amalok, 'we', from ami, 'we', the stem being ama- (§ 9.3110).

8.4514 xɒkɒl is the most respectful form and used only with a few nouns and pronouns ; e.g.

ixɒkɒl, ekhetxɒkɒl, 'these (respectable ladies and gentlemen)',

xixɒkɒl, tekhetxɒkɒl, 'those ladies and gentlemen, (respectable ones)',

zixɒkɒl, 'those who (respectable ones)',

aixɒkɒl, 'respectable ladies',

bɔndɦuxɒkɒl, 'dear friends', etc.

9.00 Inflection

9.10 Verbal Inflection.

9.11 Sets of Inflections. There are eight verbal paradigms in Assamese divided into two sets, such as,

(i) Inflection for finite verbs, and

(ii) Inflection for non-finite verbs.

All personal and impersonal inflections are finite ; and the inflections for the conjuctive in i is non-finite.

9.12 The Verbal stem.

9.1210 Inflections are built upon five verbal stems labelled as Stem types I, II, III, IV and V.

The inflectional forms are directly added to these stems.

9.1211 Stem I. The Stem type I consists of the verbal base made up of the root with or without any derivational affixes.

This is the stem for four inflectional paradigms ; e.g.

(i) The Imperative,

(ii) The Present indefinite,

(iii) The Passive, and

(iv) The Conjunctive.

9.1212 Stem II. It is constituted of the base plus the progressive morpheme is. This is the stem for the Present progressive and/or Present perfect inflections ; e.g.

Base	Stem Type II
kɒr, 'to do',	kɒr-is-, kɔris-
kɒra, 'to cause to do',	kɒra-is-, kɒrais-
kha, 'to eat',	kha-is-, khais-
pɔrɦua, 'to teach',	pɔrɦua-is-, pɔrɦuais-
lɒ, 'to take',	lɒ-is-, lɔis-
pi, 'to drink',	pi-is-, piis- ~ pis-
xo, 'to sleep',	xo-is-, xuis- etc.

9.1213 Stem III. This is the Stem for Past indefinite or perfect inflections, and consists of the base plus the past morpheme -il- which has the allomorphs -l- and -il- conditioned phonologically ; e.g.

-l- occurs after bases ending in a vowel, and

-il- occurs elsewhere ; e. g.

Base	Stem Type III
kha, 'to eat',	kha-l-, khal-
khua, 'to feed',	khua-l-, khual-
kɒ, 'to say',	kɒ-il-, kɔl-
kɒr, 'to do',	kɒr-il-, kɔril-
pɒɦ, 'to read',	pɒrɦ-il-, pɔrɦil-
xun, 'to hear',	xun-il-, xunil- etc.

This Stem III in -il- also forms a participle by itself, which may undergo nominal inflections for the Instrumental in -e and the Locative in ɒt. The participle in the Oblique, without any inflection, is used as adjective, and the inflected forms are used as conjunctives syntactically ; e.g.

phutil, (phut-il), 'just burst out', from phut, 'to burst' ;

Dr Gogoi ... Path ...

phutil puate, 'very early in the morning', puate, 'morming';

gɔl, (gɔ-il), 'which is past'; gɔl kɒtha gusil, 'What is past is past', etc.

This participial use of the -il- form is preserved in a few idiomatic forms only; but the conjunctives in -e and -ɒt are very common in the language; e.g.

mɒe gan gale tai na'si thake ‖ 'She goes on dancing while I sing'; here, gale means 'while singing';

tumi a'ɦilɒt tɛõ gɔlgɔi ‖ 'He went away when you arrived. Here, aɦilɒt, (aɦ-il-ɒt), means, 'at arrival, arriving'.

The conjunctive in -e expresses present and future, and in -ɒt expresses past senses.

9.1214 Stem IV. It is the stem for the past progressive and/or the remote past tenses, and consists of the base plus -is- plus -il-; e.g.

kɔrisil-,	kɒr-is-il-,	from	kɒr, 'to do',
pɔrɦisil-,	pɒrɦ-is-il-,	..	pɒrɦ, 'to read',
besisil-,	bɛs-is-il-,	..	bɛs, 'to sell',
khuaisil-,	khua-is-il-,	..	khua, 'to feed',
piisil-,	pi-is-il-,	..	pi, 'to drink', etc.

9.1215 Stem V. This is the stem for future inflections, and is constituted of the base plus -ibɒ- which occurs in the following allomorphs; e.g.

		after consonants	after vowels
(i)	In First Person ..	-im	-m
(ii)	In Second Persons ..	-ib-	-b-
(iii)	In Third Person ..	-ibɒ	-bɒ.

Stem type V	1st. Person	2nd. Persons	3rd. Person
pi-ibɒ ...	pim-	pib-	pibɒ-
khua-ibɒ ...	khuam-	khuab-	khuabɒ-
kɒr-ibɒ ...	kɔrim-	kɔrib-	kɔribɒ-
bɛs-ibɒ ...	besim-	besib-	besibɒ-, etc.

This stem in -ibɒ- also occurs as the Future participle which may undergo nominal inflections for the Absolute, the Dative and the Genitive cases.

9.13 Finite Inflection.

9.1310 Personal Inflection.

All finite verbs save the impersonal one are inflected for four persons, viz.

(i) First Person,

(ii) Second Person Polite,

(iii) Second Person Familiar,

(iv) Third Person.

The personal inflectional morphemes are the outermost peripheral endings added directly to the stems. They may, however, be followed by the verbal Post-positions in syntactic constructions.

9.1311 The First Person.

The First Personal morpheme -õ has three allomorphs, -õ, -o and ϕ ; e.g.

-õ occurs after stems ending in vowels in Stem I ;

-o occurs in free variation with -õ after stems ending in consonants, and

-ϕ occurs in Stem type V. E.g.

khaõ, kha-õ, '(I/we) eat' ;

kɒraõ, kɒra-õ, '(I/we) cause to do',

diõ, di-õ, '(I/we) give',

lɒõ, lɒ-õ, '(I/we) take',

nɒkɒõ, nɒkɒ-õ, '(I/we) do not say', etc.

kɔrilo ~ kɔrilõ, kɒr-il-õ/o, '(I/we) did, had done',

pɔrɦilo ~ pɔrɦilõ, pɒrɦ-il-õ/o, '(I/we) read, had read',

khualo ~ khualõ, khua-il-õ/o, '(I/we) fed, had fed',

bisarisilo ~ bisarisilõ, bisar-is-il-õ/o, '(I/we) searched, had searched',

nɒkɔrisilo ~ nɒkɔrisilõ, nɒkɒr-is-il-õ/o, '(I/we) did not do, had not done', etc.

kɔrim, kɒr-im-ϕ, '(I/we) shall do',

pɔrɦim, pɒrɦ-im-ϕ, '(I/we) shall read',

kɒram, kɒra-im-ϕ, '(I/we) shall cause to do',

nɒmɒtam, nɒmɒta-im-ϕ, '(I/we) shall not cause to invite', etc.

9.1312 The Second Person Polite morpheme is -a and affixed to all stems ; (in the examples, the Subject is 'you, polite', for both singular and plural) ; e.g.

kɒra, kɒr-a, 'do', (Present indicative),

kɒra, kɒr-a, 'Do !', (Imperative),

kɔrisa, kɒr-is-a, 'have done, are doing',

kɔrisila, kɒr-is-il-a, 'did, had been doing',

kɔrila, kɒr-il-a, 'did, had done',

kɔriba, kɒr-ib-a, 'will do',

nɒkɔriba, nɒkɒr-ib-a, 'will not do', or, 'Don't do !', etc.

9.1313 The Second Person Familiar morpheme ia -ɒ with the allomorphs, -ɒ and -i.

-ɒ occurs with Stems I and II, and

-i occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

(In the examples to follow, the Subject is 'you, familiar', in both singular and plural numbers.)

With -ɒ :

kɒrɒ, kɒr-ɒ, 'do', (Present indefinite),

khaɒ, kha-ɒ, 'eat', -ditto-

diɒ, di-ɒ 'give', -ditto-

kɔrisɒ, kɒr-is-ɒ, 'have done, are doing',

khaisɒ, kha-is-ɒ, 'have eaten, are eating',

pɔrɦisɒ, pɒrɦ-is-ɒ 'have read, are reading', etc.

With -i :

kɔrisili, kɒr-is-il-i, 'did, had been doing',

aɦisili, aɦ-is-il-i, 'came, had been coming',

pɔrɦisili, pɒrɦ-is-il-i, read, had been reading',

gɔisili, gɔ-is-il-i, 'went, had been going',

nidisili, nidi-is-il-i, 'did not give, had not been giving',

kɔrili, kɒr-il-i, 'did, had done',

khali, kha-il-i, 'ate, had eaten',

nɒpɔrɦili, nɒpɒrɦ-il-i, 'did not read, had not read',

aɦibi, aɦ-ib-i, 'will come',

xunibi, xun-ib-i, 'will hear, listen to',

nazabi, naza-ib-i, 'will not go', also, 'Don't go !',

nɒkɔribi, nɒkɒr-ib-i, 'will not do', also, Don't do !' etc.

9.1314 The Third Person.

There are two third personal morphemes, viz.

(i) The Imperative in –ɒk, and

(ii) The non-Imperative in –e.

9.131410 The Imperative.

The Imperative morpheme -ɒk occurs in Stem I, and has two allomorphs conditioned phonologically ; e.g.

(i) -ok occurs after stems ending in the vowels / ɒ a /, and

(ii) -ɒk occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

With -ok :

khaok, kha-ok, 'Let (him) eat',

kɒraok, kɒra-ok, 'Let (him) cause to do',

olaok, ola-ok, 'Let (him) come out, get ready',

kɒok, kɒ-ok, 'Let (him) say',

thɒok, thɒ-ok, 'Let (him) place, keep', etc.

With ɒk :

kɒrɒk, kɒr-ɒk, 'Let (him) do',

pɒrɦɒk, pɒrɦ-ɒk, 'Let (him) read',

xunɒk, xun-ɒk, 'Let (him) listen to, hear',

diɒk, di-ɒk, 'Let (him) give',

niɒk, ni-ɒk, 'Let (him) take',

dɦoɒk, dɦo-ɒk, 'Let (him) wash',

xoɒk, xo-ɒk, 'Let (him) sleep', etc.

9.131411 The non-Imperative third personal morpheme -e has two allomorphs : -e and -ϕ ; their distribution being conditioned morphologically ; e.g.

-e occurs with Stems I and II, and also with III in a large number of verbs ;

-ϕ occurs elsewhere, including occurrences in Stems III in complementation to -e.

(The Subject of the verbs in the examples may be any noun or pronoun of the Third Person in singular or plural.)

With -e : in Stems I and II :

kɒre, kɒr-e, 'does',

namate, namat-e, 'does not call',

pɒrɦe, pɒrɦ-e, 'reads',

nɛbese, nɛbɛs-e, 'does not sell',

khae, kha-e, 'eats',

aɦe, aɦ-e, 'comes',

nukhuae, nukhua-e, 'does not feed',

kɔrise, kɒr-is-e, 'has done, is doing',

pɔrɦise, pɒrɦ-is-e, 'has read, is reading',

khaise, kha-is-e, 'has eaten, is eating', etc.

In Stem III :

kɔrile, kɒr-il-e, 'did, had done',

pɔrɦile, pɒrɦ-il-e, 'read, had read',

namatile, namat-il-e, 'did not call, had not called',

khirale, khira-il-e, 'milked, had milked',

dɔurile, dɔur-il-e, 'ran, had run',

xãturile, xãtor-il-e, 'swam, had swum', etc.

With -ϕ : in Stem III :

aɦil, aɦ-il-ϕ, 'came, had come',

nabasil, nabas-il-ϕ, 'did not survive, had not survived',

pɔril, pɒr-il-ϕ, 'fell down, had fallen down',

mɔril, mɒr-il-ϕ, 'died, had died', etc.

In Stems IV and V :

kɔrisil, kɒr-is-il-ϕ, 'did, had been doing',

pɔrɦisil, pɒrɦ-is-il-ϕ, 'read, had been reading',

nakhaisil, nakha-is-il-ϕ, 'did not eat, had not been eating',

nabasisil, nabas-is-il-ϕ, 'did not survive, had not been surviving',

pɔrisil, pɒr-is-il-ϕ, 'fell down, had been falling',

aɦibɒ, aɦ-ibɒ-ϕ, 'will come',

kɔribɒ, kɒr-ibɒ-ϕ, 'will do',

pɔrɦibɒ, pɒrɦ-ibɒ-ϕ, 'will read',

khabɒ, kha-ibɒ-ϕ, 'will eat',

namatibɒ, namat-ibɒ-ϕ, 'will not call',

khuabɒ, khua-ibɒ-ϕ, 'will feed',

kɒrabɒ, kɒra-ibɒ-ϕ, 'will cause to do', etc.

9.1320 Impersonal Inflection.

There is one Impersonal inflection, viz. the inflection for passive, which is limited to a small number of verbs, and used idiomatically only.

The verbs that undergo passive inflection are :

buz, 'to understand', dɐkh, 'to see', par, 'to be capable of', xun, 'to hear, listen to'.

9.1321 The passive morpheme is -i, and it is added to the Present stem, i.e. Stem I ; e.g.

buzi, buz-i, 'is understood',

nubuzi, nubuz-i, 'is not understood',

dekhi, dɐkh-i, 'is seen',

nɐdekhi, nɐdɐkh-i, 'is not seen', etc.

9.14 Non-finite Inflection.

9.1410 The non-finite inflection consists of the paradigm for the conjunctive in -i which may be used as a participle also (in a few verbs) ; and is translated by Eng. '-ing'.

The conjunctive in -i takes the Stem type I ; e.g. as present participial adjective (there are few examples) :

uthi, uth-i, 'rising', as in uthi rɒza, 'de facto king, powerful king'; cf. uth, 'to rise up',

bɔɦi, bɒɦ-i, 'sitting', as in bɔɦi rɒza, 'king de jure',

mɔri, mɒr-i, 'dead, dying', as in mɔri xuti, 'dead stream', mɔri kɒlɒŋ, '*MariKalang*', a name of the dead stream of the *Kalang* river, etc.

As conjunctive, too, the form with -i may be translated by English '-ing' ; e.g.

kɔri, kɒr-i, 'doing, having done',

pɔrɦi, pɒrɦ-i, 'reading, having read',

khai, kha-i, 'eating, having eaten',

nɒbɔɦi, nɒbɒɦ-i, 'not sitting, not having sat',

buzi, buz-i, 'having understood',

dekhi, dɐkh-i, 'having seen', etc.

9.15 Sample Paradigms.

9.1510 As discussed above (§§ 9.13-9.14), all verbs have the following paradigms which may be doubled with an equal number of negative sets. The negative paradigms are obtained by prefixation of the negative derivative nɒ- (§ 8.2523).

9.1511 Of the eight paradigms, five are four-membered [(i) First person, (ii) Second person polite, (iii) Second person familiar and (iv) Third person], one two-membered and two one-membered; e.g.

1. Inflection with Stem I plus P(ersonal) E(nding): Present Indicative;
2. Stem II + P E : Present progressive or perfect;
3. Stem III + P E : Near past, Indefinite and/or perfect;
4. Stem IV + P E : Remote past, progressive and/or Indefinite;
5. Stem V + P E : Future Indefinite;
6. Stem I + P E : Imperative;
7. Stem I + Impersonal morpheme -i : Passive;
8. Stem I + Conjunctive -i : Conjuctive.

9.1512 Verbs presented in the paradigms:

A. kɒr, 'to do',

B. kɒrɐ, 'to cause to do',

C. aɦ, 'to come',

D. dɐkh, 'to see',

E. xun, 'to hear',

F. par, 'to be able to',

9.151210 Affirmative Paradigms.

		A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
1.	i)	kɒrõ	kɒraõ	aɦõ	dɛkhõ	xunõ	parõ
	ii)	kɒra	kɒroa	aɦa	dɛkha	xuna	para
	iii)	kɒrɒ	kɒraɒ	aɦɒ	dɛkhɒ	xunɒ	parɒ
	iv)	kɒre	kɒrae	aɦe	dɛkhe	xune	pare
2.	i)	kɔrisõ	kɒraisõ	aɦisõ	dekhisõ	xunisõ	parisõ
	ii)	kɔrisa	kɒraisa	aɦisa	dekhisa	xunisa	parisa
	iii)	kɔrisɒ	kɒraisɒ	aɦisɒ	dekhisɒ	xunisɒ	parisɒ
	iv)	kɔrise	kɒraise	aɦise	dekhise	xunise	parise
3.	i)	kɔrilõ	kɒralõ	aɦilõ	dekhilõ	xunilõ	parilõ
	ii)	kɔrila	kɒrala	aɦila	dekhila	xunila	parila
	iii)	kɔrili	kɒrali	aɦili	dekhili	xunili	parili
	iv)	kɔrile	kɒrale	aɦil	dekhile	xunile	parile

		A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
4.	i)	kɔrisilõ	kɒraisilõ	aɦisilõ	dekhisilõ	xunisilõ	parisilõ
	ii)	kɔrisila	kɒraisila	aɦisila	dekhisila	xunisila	parisila
	iii)	kɔrisili	kɒraisili	aɦisili	dekhisili	xunisili	parisili
	iv)	kɔrisil	kɒraisil	aɦisil	dekhisil	xunisil	parisil
5.	i)	kɔrim	kɒram	aɦim	dekhim	xunim	parim
	ii)	kɔriba	kɒraba	aɦiba	dekhiba	xuniba	pariba
	iii)	kɔribi	kɒrabi	aɦibi	dekhibi	xunibi	paribi
	iv)	kɔribɒ	kɒrabɒ	aɦibɒ	dekhibɒ	xunibɒ	paribɒ
6.	iii)	kɒr !	kɒra !	aɦ !	dɛkh !	xun !	——
	iv)	kɒrɒk !	kɒraok !	aɦɒk !	dɛkhɒk !	xunɒk !	parɒk !
7.		——	——	——	dekhi	xuni	pari
8.		kɔri	kɒrai	aɦi	dekhi	xuni	pari

9.151220 Negative Paradigms.

		A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
1.	i)	ɲɒkɒrɔ̃	ɲɒkɒraɔ̃	ɲaɦɔ̃	ɲɛdɛkhɔ̃	ɲuxunɔ̃	ɲoarɔ̃
	ii)	ɲɒkɒra	ɲɒkɒroa	ɲaɦa	ɲɛdɛkha	ɲuxuna	ɲoara
	iii)	ɲɒkɒrɒ	ɲɒkɒraɒ	ɲaɦɒ	ɲɛdɛkhɒ	ɲuxunɒ	ɲoarɒ
	iv)	ɲɒkɒre	ɲɒkɒrae	ɲaɦe	ɲɛdɛkhe	ɲuxune	ɲoare
2.	i)	ɲɔkɔrisɔ̃	ɲɒkɒraisɔ̃	ɲaɦisɔ̃	ɲedekhisɔ̃	ɲuxunisɔ̃	ɲoarisɔ̃
	ii)	ɲɔkɔrisa	ɲɒkɒraisa	ɲaɦisa	ɲedekhisa	ɲuxunisa	ɲoarisa
	iii)	ɲɔkɔrisɒ	ɲɒkɒraisɒ	ɲaɦisɒ	ɲedekhisɒ	ɲuxunisɒ	ɲoarisɒ
	iv)	ɲɔkɔrise	ɲɒkɒraise	ɲaɦise	ɲedekhise	ɲuxunise	ɲoarise
3.	i)	ɲɔkɔrilɔ̃	ɲɒkɒralɔ̃	ɲaɦilɔ̃	ɲedekhilɔ̃	ɲuxunilɔ̃	ɲoarilɔ̃
	ii)	ɲɔkɔrila	ɲɒkɒrala	ɲaɦila	ɲedekhila	ɲuxunila	ɲoarila
	iii)	ɲɔkɔrili	ɲɒkɒrali	ɲaɦili	ɲedekhili	ɲuxunili	ɲoarili
	iv)	ɲɔkɔrile	ɲɒkɒrale	ɲaɦil	ɲedekhile	ɲuxunile	ɲoarile

		A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
4.	i)	nɔkɔrisilõ	nɒkɒraisilõ	naɦisilõ	nedekhisilõ	nuxunisilõ	noarisilõ
	ii)	nɔkɔrisila	nɒkɒraisila	naɦisila	nedekhisila	nuxunisila	noarisila
	iii)	nɔkɔrisili	nɒkɒraisili	naɦisili	nedekhisili	nuxunisili	noarisili
	iv)	nɔkɔrisil	nɒkɒraisil	naɦisil	nedekhisil	nuxunisil	noarisil
5.	i)	nɔkɔrim	nɒkɒram	naɦim	nedekhim	nuxunim	noarim
	ii)	nɔkɔriba	nɒkɒraba	naɦiba	nedekhiba	nuxuniba	noariba
	iii)	nɔkɔribi	nɒkɒrabi	naɦibi	nedekhibi	nuxunibi	noaribi
	iv)	nɔkɔribɒ	nɒkɒrabɒ	naɦibɒ	nedekhibɒ	nuxunibɒ	noaribɒ
6.	iii)	nɒkɒr !	nɒkɒra !	naɦ ! (?)	nɛdɛkh !	nuxun !	noar !(?)
	iv)	nɒkɒrɒk !	nɒkɒraok !	naɦɒk !	nɛdɛkhɒk !	nuxunɒk !	noarɒk !
7.		—	—	—	nedekhi	nuxuni	noari
8.		nɔkɔrī	nɒkɒrai	naɦi	nedekhi	nuxuni	noari

9.16 Morpheme alternants in Verbal forms.

There are allomorphic variations in a few verbs, which are morphologically conditioned, and therefore, may be listed as follows ; e.g.

(i) za, 'to go', has two forms : za and gɔ.
za occurs in paradigms 1, 5 and 6 ; and
gɔ occurs in all other paradigms except paradigm No. 7 where this verb never occurs.

(ii) par, 'to be able to, can' has the forms, oar occurring in negative paradigms, i.e. with nɛ- ; and par occurring elsewhere.

(iii) di, 'to give', and ni, 'to bring, take', occur as de and ne respectively in the paradigms 6 (iii), i.e. in the Imperative ; and di and ni elsewhere.

(iv) bɒ, 'to weave', has the forms bo ~ bɒ : bo occurs in paradigm 1. (iv) in free variation with bɒ which occurs elsewhere.

(v) as, 'to be, stay, remain', occurs as a in paradigm 7 in the negative, and as elsewhere, i.e. in paradigms 1 and 3.

9.17 Irregular Verbs.

9.1710 There are a few irregular or incomplete verbs that occur only in selected forms in a limited number of paradigms. They are listed below ; e.g.

(i) bɔl, 'to proceed, go, move forward', occurs in paradigm No. 6 only.

(ii) as, 'to stay, remain', occurs in paradigms 1 and 3.

(iii) thak, 'to stay, remain', occurs in all paradigms except 2, 4 and 7.

It may be noted that the verbs as, 'to remain, stay', and thak, 'to remain, stay', except for paradigm 1, are complementary to each other.

9.20 Nominal Inflection.

9.21 Inflection for Cases.

All nouns including the nouns of relationship undergo inflections for seven cases as follows :

	Cases	Morphemes	Allomorphs After C : After V
(i)	Absolute ...	ϕ (i.e. zero)	
(ii)	Nominative ...	e, i (in Pronominal inflection)	
(iii)	Accusative ...	ɒk ..	ɒk : k
(iv)	Dative ...	ɒlɔi ..	ɒlɔi : lɔi
(v)	Genitive ...	ɒr ..	ɒr : r
(vi)	Locative ...	ɒt ..	ɒt : t
(vii)	Instrumental ...	ɒr + e ..	ere : re

The case morphemes are directly added to the noun bases built up with or without any derivational and/or inflectional morphemes of personal relationship (§§ 9.22-9.2214) and the Definitives (§§ 8.40-8.4513.).

9.2110 The Absolute case.

The Absolute case has no overt markers, and is used syntactically both as Subject (of a class of intransitive verbs) and Object (direct) ; e. g.

manuɦ mɒrɒnxil, 'man (is) mortal',

lɔrabor aɦise, 'the boys are coming',

ram gɦɒrɒlɔi gɔl, 'Ram has gone home',

srikrisnɒ maznixa upɔzisil, 'Lord *Krishna* was born at midnight'.

In the above sentences, manuɦ, 'man', lɔrabor, 'boys', ram and srikrisnɒ are nouns, and subjects to the intransitive verbs ɦɒe, 'is' (understood), aɦise, 'are coming', gɔl, 'went', and upɔzisil, 'was born', respectively[1].

---

1. There are certain intransitive verbs which take their subjects in the Nominative and not in the Absolute case ; cf. next section for examples.

As Object of passive verbs ; e. g.

bɒtaɦ sɔkure nedekhi, 'air is not seen by the eyes',

ɦulɒsthulɒt eko nuxuni, 'nothing is heard in the noise', etc.

In these two sentences, bɒtaɦ, 'air', and eko, 'something (in the negative sense, i.e. nothing) are Objects to the passive verbs, nedekhi, 'is not seen' and nuxuni, 'is not heard' respectively[1].

mɒe kitapkhɒn ketiabai pɔrɦilõ, 'I have already read the book'.

baghe ɛta gɔru marile, 'the tiger killed a cow'.

mok ɛbati pani dia, 'Give me a cup of water', etc.

In the above sentences, kitapkhɒn, 'the book', gɔru, 'cow' and pani, 'water' are direct Objects to the transitive verbs pɔrɦilõ, 'read', marile, 'killed', and dia, 'give' respectively ; and all are in the Absolute case.

9.2111 The Nominative Case.

The Nominative morpheme is -e and it is added to the base to express Subjects of transitive and of a small group of intransitive verbs ; e.g.

pɔndite lɔra kobae, 'the teacher whips the students'.

baghe ɛta gɔru marile, 'the tiger killed a cow'.

rame kam kɔrise, 'Ram is working'.

In the above sentences, pɔndite, pɔndit-e, baghe, bagɦ-e, and rame, ram-e are Subjects in the Nominative case to the transitive verbs kobae, 'whips', marile, 'killed', and kɔrise, 'is doing' respectively.

In the following sentences, the Subjects of the intransitive verbs are also in the Nominative case ; e.g.

---

1. In the English translation of the sentences, the words 'air', and 'nothing' are subjects of the passive verbs ; but they are, in the Assamese structure, subject as could be determined from the same structural pattern of proper nouns and pronouns. Cf. tak sɔkure nedekhi, 'he is not seen' ; ramɒk matibɒ pari, 'Ram may be invited'. In these sentences, tak and ramɒk are pronouns and proper nouns respectively, and they are in the accusative case as objects.

manuɦe ɦãɦe, 'man laughs'.

lɔrabore pukhurit xãturise, 'the boys are swimming in the pool'.

gɦõrae bẽgai dɔure, 'horses run fast'.

Here, manuɦe, manuɦ-e, lɔrabore, lɔrabor-e, and gɦõrae, gɦõra-e are in the Nominative.

-e expresses Instrumental case also, with or without being preceded by the Genitive -ɒr (in the allomorph -er); e.g.

ɦate/ɦatere kɒra kam, 'work done by the hand'.

mukhe/mukhere loa nam, 'recite the name (of God) by the mouth'.

ɦate/ɦatere kɒta xuta, 'yarn spun by hand', etc.

-e forms, when repeated, are generally adverbs; e.g.

mɒne mɒne, 'silently',

laɦe laɦe, 'slowly',

gɦɒne gɦɒne, 'frequently',

mɒne prane, 'whole heartedly',

bɦale bɦale, bɦalere, 'well', etc.

9.2112 The Accusative case.

The Accusative case in -ɒk expresses indirect Object of transitive verbs having two Objects; e.g.

make lɔrak gakhir khuaise, 'the mother is feeding milk to the boy'.

xikhjɒke satrɒk path pɒrɦae, 'the teacher teaches lessons to the students'.

mɒe manuɦtok ɛta prɒsnɒ xudɦisilõ, 'I asked the man a question'.

In the above sentences, lɔrak, lɔra-k, satrɒk, satrɒ-k, and manuɦtok, manuɦto-k, are indirect Objects in the Accusative in -ɒk (with the allomorph in -k).

The Accusative in -ɒk expresses direct Object of a proper noun or a noun of relationship ; e.g.

mɒe rampk mati afiso, 'I have invited Ram'.

ami bisnuk puza kɒrõ, 'we worship Lord *Vishnu*'.

tomaloke bɔruak dekhisilane ? 'Did you see Mr. Barua ?'

bapɛke putɛkɒk skulɒloi loi gɔise, 'the father is taking the son to the school', etc.

In the above sentences, rampk, ram-ɒk bisnuk, bisnu-k, bɔruak, bɔrua-k, and putɛkɒk, putɛk-ɒk are direct Objects in the Accusative in -ɒk.

Other nouns may also take on -ɒk and express direct Objects when they are particularized or emphasized ; e.g.

mɒe lɔrak matisõ, 'I have invited the boys (and not the girls or the old persons)', etc.

9.2113 The Dative.

The Dative in -ɒloi expresses 'to certain destination, for', etc. e.g.

unɔisxɒ sappnnɒ sɒnɒr—zunɒr nɒ tarikhe ami lɒndɒn-ɒloi zatra kɔrilõ, 'we started *for London* on June 9, 1956'.

bɔrualɔi ki thɔisa ? 'what have (you) kept *for Mr. Barua* ?'

tumi kamɒloi ketia zaba ? 'when are you going *for your work* ?'

ami aru ramɒloi nɒrɒõ, 'we shall no more wait *for Ram*.'

tai bapɛkɒloi sithi likhise, 'she is writing a letter *to her father*'.

Compare the following Dative forms of the non-future participle in -a ; e.g.

tumi kamto kɒralɔi mɒe rɔbɒ noarim, 'I shall not be able to wait *till* (*your*) *doing* the work'.

ɒɦalɔi, *'till coming'*.

nɒkɒralɔike, *'until doing'* (-ke, an emphatic morpheme).

The corresponding forms in the above illustrations have been italicized.

9.2114 The Genitive.

The Genitive case form in -ɒr expresses ownership of men and things.

-ɒr occurs in three allomorphs : ɘr, ɒr and r.

ɘr occurs after consonants when it is followed by -e to express instrumental[1].

ɒr occurs after consonants when it is not followed by -e.

r occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

manuɦɒr, 'of man',

bɔruaɦɔ̃tɒr, 'of the Baruas',

panir, 'of water',

xonɒr, 'of gold',

guaɦatir, 'of Gauhati',

puɾɔni kalɒr, 'of ancient times', etc.

ɘr-e expresses Instrumental case, e.g.

ɦatɘre, 'by the hand',

ramɘre, 'by Ram',

nɔdire, 'by the river',

puruɦitɘre, by the priest', etc.

ɒr-form may be followed by the post-position pɒra to express Ablative case ; e.g.

kɔlikɒtar pɒra, 'from Calcutta',

gɒsɒr pɒra, 'from the tree',

ramɒr pɒra, 'from Ram', etc.

---

1. In the western Nowgong dialect of *Mâyang* area, ɘre, ere are always heard as ɒre in the same environment for ɘre, ere of the Standard Colloquial ; e.g. ɦatɒre, rambre, puruɦitɒre, etc

The Genitive form is generally followed by most of the post-positions like dɒre, nisiɲa, xɔite, dara, etc.

9.2115 The Locative.

The Locative in -ɒt expresses the sense of 'at, in, on, upon', etc. or some location ; e.g.

matit, 'on the ground',

pukhurit, 'in the tank',

tebulɒt, 'on the table',

bɛrɒt, 'at the wall',

bakɒsɒt, 'in the box',

akaxɒt, 'in the sky',

guaɦatit, 'in Gauhati',

xonarit, 'in the gold-smith', etc.

The locative form in -ɒt may be followed by the post-position kɔi to express comparison among men and things ; e.g.

manuɦɒtkɔi debɒta sresthɒ, 'Gods are superior to men'.

guaɦatitkɔi kɔlikɒta daŋgɒr, 'Calcutta is bigger than Gauhati'.

ramɒtkɔi lakhmɒn xɔru, '*Lakṣmaṇa* is younger to *Rāma*', etc.

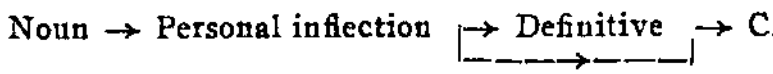
9.22 Inflection for Personal Relations.

9.2210 The nouns of relationship are a small class of words[1] in the language which undergo two sets of inflections, viz. (i) the inflection for Personal Relations, and (ii) the inflection for the Cases.

---

1. The entire group of words expressing personal relations, such as pita, 'father', ma or ai, 'mother', baideu, 'elder sister', bɦɒni, 'younger sister', etc. including the terms of addressing friends as mita, xɔkhi, etc. constitute this class of nouns. It has also to be noted that in Assamese the terms of relationship are different according to the seniority or juniority of the person related to. For example,

The Case inflection (§§ 9.21-9.2115) always follows the Personal inflection; that is, the nouns with Personal inflection form the base, with or without the Definitives following them, for the Case inflection. The morpheme structure of the construction may be shown as follows; e.g.



9.2211 This set of nouns, like the finite verbs (§ 9.1310), have inflections for four Persons; e.g.

(i) F(irst) P(erson) in -i,

(ii) S(econd) P(erson) F(amiliar) in -ɛr,

(iii) S(econd) P(erson) P(olite) in -ɛr-a, and,

(iv) T(hird) P(erson) in -ɛk.

9.2212 The F P morpheme -i occurs in two allomorphs: i and ϕ, conditioned morphologically; e.g.

pitai, pita-i, 'my father'; cf. pita, 'father',

momai, moma-i, 'my maternal uncle'; cf. mama, 'maternal uncle',

dɒdai, dada-i, 'my uncle (father's younger brother)',

zi, zi-ϕ, 'my daughter',

ɡɦɔini, ɡɦɔini-ϕ, 'my wife (not very polite)',

---

there are words for elder brother or younger brother, but no word for brother in general; e.g. bɧai, 'younger brother', kɒkai, 'elder brother', bɦɒni, 'younger sister', and her husband is bɔinai; baideu is 'elder sister', and her husband, bɦiniɦi; parent's elder sister is zɛthai, and her husband, zɛthpɛɦa; mother's younger sister is maɦi, and her husband, mɒɦa; father's younger sister is pɛɦi, and her husband, pɛɦa; father's elder brother is bɒr pita, and his wife, bɒr ma or bɒr ai; etc.

This system of using different words to express different relations has been ascribed to Kolarian influences by Dr. B. Kakati (1962: §§ 54-55 591-608); the terms are derived from Sanskrit, but the process is non-Aryan.

bɔinai, bɔinai-ϕ, 'my bother-in-law (younger sister's husband)',

peɦi, peɦi-ϕ, 'my father's younger sister',

pɛɦa, pɛɦa-ϕ, 'my father's younger sister's husband', etc.

9.2213 The S P P morpheme -ɛr has two allomorphs: r and ɛr conditioned phonologically.

ɛr occurs after forms ending in consonants and / i u /, and, r occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

pitar, pita-r, 'your (fam.) father',

mamar, mama-r, 'your (fam.) maternal uncle',

dɒdar, dada-r, 'your (fam.) uncle (father's younger brother)',

xɔɦurɛr, xɔɦur-ɛr, 'your (fam.) father-in-law',

ziɛr, zi-ɛr, 'your (fam.) daughter',

gɦɔiniɛr, gɦɔni-ɛr, 'your (fam.) wife (not very polite)',

bɔinaiɛr, bɔinai-ɛr, 'your younger sister's husband',

peɦiɛr, peɦi-ɛr, 'your (fam.) father's younger sister',

xaɦuɛr, xaɦu-ɛr, 'your (fam.) mother-in-law', etc.

9.2214 The S P P morpheme[1] is constituted of -ɛr plus -a, with phonological varients of -ɛr in r and ɛr as discussed above (§ 9.2213) ; e.g.

pitara, pita-r-a, 'your (pol.) father',

mamara, mama-r-a, 'your (pol.) maternal uncle',

dɒdara, dada-r-a, 'your (pol.) uncle (father's younger brother)',

---

1. Dr. B. Kakati (1962 : §§ 600,616,778) has described and derived historically the -a of this morpheme from the same source as the S P P inflectional morpheme -a of verbal inflections.

ziɛra, zi-ɛr-a, 'your (pol.) daughter',

ghɔiniɛra, ghɔini-ɛr-a, 'your (pol.) wife', not very pol. for the wife,

pɛɦiɛra, pɛɦi-ɛr-a, 'your (pol.) father's younger sister', etc.

9.2215 The T P morpheme -ɛk occurs in k and ɛk :
-ɛk occurs[2] after forms ending in consonants and / i u /,
-k occurs elsewhere ; e.g.

pitak, pita-k, 'his father',

mamak, mama-k, 'his maternal uncle',

dɒdak, dada-k, 'his father's younger brother',

pɛɦak, pɛɦa-k, 'his father's younger sister's husband',

xɔɦurɛk, xɔɦur-ɛk, 'his father-in law',

ziɛk, zi-ɛk, 'his daughter',

ghɔiniɛk, ghɔini-ɛk, 'his wife', not very pol. for the wife,

bɔinaiɛk, bɔinai-ɛk, 'his younger sister's husband',

pɛɦiɛk, pɛɦi-ɛk, 'his father's younger sister', etc.

The T P forms are used to express the relationship in general senses ; e.g.

make xɒntaɒk mɒrɒm kɒre, 'mothers (ma-k-e) love their children'.

bapɛke putɛkɒk kɔle, 'the father said to his son'.

bapɛk-putɛkɒr xadɦu, 'the story of a father and a son'.

bapɛkbor enekuai, 'fathers are like this', etc.

2, In some Central Assamese dialects, in the western part of Nowgong district, the T P morpheme occurs as -ɒk in all environments, e.g. maiɒk, 'his mother', pitaiɒk 'his father', etc.

9.30 Pronominal Inflection.

9.31. The pronouns share all the case inflections of the nouns, but have special stems for a few forms.

9.3110 The Stem.

All pronominal stems are divided into two types, viz.

(i) Thematic stems, and,

(ii) Non-thematic stems.

The thematic type takes on the thematic morpheme -a- for stem construction for all the cases except the Nominative and/or the Absolute.

For the non-thematic type, the base itself, with or without the pronominal derivatives, is the stem for all inflections.

In the plural, except in the First person, the thematic and non-thematic distinction is lost; and all the inflectional endings are suffixed to the stems made up of the plural forms.

The First Person plural stem is thematic, but may alternatively be inflected like other pronouns also with a plural form.

9.3111 The Stems in a Chart.

The following table presents all the pronouns and their thematic and non-thematic stems in the singular and plural.

The pronouns are listed in two groups which have relevance to Syntax; the group II pronouns may be repeated twice in syntatic constructions.

[The Chart follows in the next page]

Pronouns		Stems		
Gloss	Nom./Absl.	Thematic	Non-thematic	
			Singular	Plural
Group I				
1. We	ami	am-a		amalok
2. You (Pol.)	tumi	tom-a		tomalok
3. You (3rd P)	apuni	apon-a		aponalok
4. I	mɒe		mo-	
5. You (Fam.)	tɒe		to-	tɒhɒ̃t
6. It/This	i	i-a		ihɒ̃t, ibor, ibilak
7. He	xi	t-a		xihɒ̃t, xibor, xibilak
8. This girl	ei		ei-	eihɒ̃t
9. This (m./f.)	ɛõ		ɛõ-	ɛõlok, ɛõbilak
10. That (m./f.)	tɛõ		tɛõ-	tɛõlok, tɛõbilak
11. She	tai		tai-	taihɒ̃t
12. This (m./f.)	ekhet		ekhet-	ekhetxɒkɒl

13.	That (m./f.)	tekhet		tekhet-	tekhetxɒkal
14.	Some one	khɛ̄no		khɛ̄no-	
	Group II				
15.	What	ki	k-a		kibor, kibilak
16.	Who (Rel.)	zi	z-a		zibor, zibilak
17.	Who (Rel.)	zon			
18.	Who	kon			konbor, konbilak
19.	Some body	kono			konobor, konobilak
20.	Some one, none	kɛ̄o ~kɛ̄ō			
21.	Some one	konoba		konoba-, karoba-	
22.	Something	kiba		kiba-(?)	kibabor, kibabilak
23.	What	kiñe		kiñ-	
24.	Something	kiñɒba		kiñɒba-	
25.	Who (Rel.)	zei			
26.	Which (Rel.)	ziñe		ziñ-	
27.	Which (Rel.)	ziñɒba		ziñɒba-	
28.	Oneself	nize		niz-	

9.3112 Stem alternants in pronominal forms.

There are a few stem alternants which have been shown in the following table. (Number of the pronouns in the first column has reference to the list in § 9. 3110. The star (*) marks dialectical forms.).

No.s	Stems in Nom.	in Plural	Elsewhere
4.	mɒ-	...	mo-
5.	tɒ-	tɒ-	to-
7.	xi	*ta-, xi-	ta-
21.	konoba	...	karoba-

9.3120 Irregular pronouns.

Some of the pronouns are not inflected for all the cases ; some, again, do not have plural. Such pronouns may be treated as irregular ; e.g. (Number in the brackets refer to the number of the pronouns in the list in § 9.3111) ;

kon (18), kono (19), kɐo ~ kɐõ (20) and zon (17) are inflected for the Nominative and the Absolute ; zei (25) is inflected for the Nominative only ; and in all other Cases, No.s 18, 19 and 20 are substituted by those of ki (15); and No.s 17 and 25 by those of zi (16).

Pronouns not inflected for Plural :

mɒe	(4),	khɐno	(14),
kɐo ~ kɐõ	(20),	konoba	(21),
kiɦ	(23),	kiɦɒba	(24),
zei	(25),	ziɦ	(26),
niz	(28),	ziɦɒba	(27).

9.32 Case Inflection.

9.3210 The Cases.

The case forms for the pronouns, except for the Nominative are same with those of the nouns (§ 9.21).

9.3211 The Nominative.

The Nominative morpheme -e occurs in two morphologically conditioned allomorphs : e and i.

The pronouns No.s 4, 5, 12-14 and 17-28 are inflected[1] for Nominative in e ; and No.s 1-3 are inflected for the Nominative in i.

The Nominative of all the pronouns are used as Subjects in syntactic constructions.

9.3212 The Absolute.

The Absolute case, which has no overt marker, occurs in the pronouns No.s 6-22, 24 and 27, out of which No.s 6-11 always occurs as Subjects of all verbs.

No.s 15 and 16 occur as both Subject and Object.

The Absolute of all plurals, except of ki and zi which may occur either as Subject or Object, occurs as Subject only.

9.3213 Other Cases.

Inflections for all other Cases are like those of the nominals. The Instrumental is formed by the Genitive followed by the Nominative in -e, or by the Genitive followed by the post-positions dara or xɔite. The Genitive followed by pɒra expresses the Ablative.

---

1. The -i of am-i, tum-i and apun-i is treated as the Nom. morpheme, and that in i, xi, tai, ei, ki, zi are treated differently as a part of the pronoun itself since the -i in the first group does not occur in the plural form, while that of the latter group does. E.g. ami, amak, amalok ; tumi, tomak, tomalok, etc.; but, i, iak, ifi̯t, ibor, ibilak ; xi. xi-ɦ̃ɒt/bor/bilak ; zi, zak, zi-bor/bilak ; tai, taik, taifi̯t etc.

9.3214 The following presents the inflectional paradigms of all the pronouns.

	Absl.	Nom.	Acc.	Inst.	Dat.	Gen.	Loc.
1.		ami	amak	amare	amalɔi	amar	amat
2.		tumi	tomak	tomare	tomalɔi	tomar	tomat
3.		apuni	aponak	aponare	aponalɔi	aponar	aponat
4.		mɒe	mok	more	molɔi	mor	mot
5.		tɒe	tok	tore	tolɔi	tor	tot
6.	i		iak	iare	ialɔi	iar	iat
7.	xi		tak	tare	talɔi	tar	tat
8.	ei		eik	eire	eilɔi	eir	eit
9.	ɛõ		ɛõk	ɛõre	ɛõlɔi	ɛõr	ɛõt
10.	tɛõ		tɛõk	tɛõre	tɛõlɔi	tɛõr	tɛõt
11.	tai		taik	taire	tailɔi	tair	tait
12.	ekhet	ekhete	ekhetɒk	ekhetere	ekhetɒlɔi	ekhetɒr	ekhetɒt
13.	tekhet	tekhete	tekhetɒk	tekhetere	tekhetɒlɔi	tekhetɒr	tekhetɒt

14.	khɛno	khɛnoe	khɛnok	khɛnore	khɛnolɔi	khɛnor	khɛnot
15.	ki		kak	kare	kalɔi	kar	kat
16.	zi		zak	zare	zalɔi	zar	zat
17.	zon	zone					
18.	kon	kone					
19.	kono	konoe					
20.	kɛo~kɛõ	kɛoe~kɛõe					
21.	konoba	konobae	karobak	karobare	karobalɔi	karobar	karobat
22.	kiba	kibae	kibak	kibare	kibalɔi	kibar	kibat
23.		kife	kifɒk	kifere	kifɒlɔi	kifɒr	kifɒt
24.	kifɒba	kifɒbae	kifɒbak	kifɒbare	kifɒbalɔi	kifɒbar	kifɒbat
25.		zeje					
26.		zife	zifɒk	zifere	zifɒlɔi	zifɒr	zifɒt
27.	zifɒba	zifɒbae	zifɒbak	zifɒbare	zifɒbalɔi	zifɒbar	zifɒbat
28.		nize	nizɒk	nizere	nizɒlɔi	nizɒr	nizɒt

SYNTAX

10.00 Syntax

10.10 This is an attempt at a presentation of the basic structural pattern of the Assamese utterances; and hence, an approach and not a detailed analysis of the syntax of the language.

10.20 An utterance is associated with pitch and juncture features (§§ 5.20-5.2350) which constitute intonation. A complete utterance is always marked by a terminal juncture, and is capable of occurring in absolute position.

A clause is an utterance by itself, but always a part of a larger utterance; that is, it can not occur in absolute position. Clauses are generally marked by the phrase junctures in the body of the parent utterance which may be called the principal utterance.

Phrases are constituents of either a clause or adjuncts of other coustituents of an utterance.

10.30 Constituents of an utterance and their distribution.

10.31 An utterance may, broadly, be divided into two parts : viz. (a) S (ubject), and

(b) P (redicate).

10.3110 P may, again, be divided into the following coustituents; e.g.

(a) O (bject),

(b) V (erb),

(c) Ex (tensions), and

(d) Cv, i.e. Connectives.

10.3111 Cv connects the different constituents and their adjuncts, including the clauses. Sometimes, it may act as an independent element also.

10.3112 Ex includes all enlargements of an utterance except S, O, V, Cv and their adjuncts. In a broad sense, this Ex may be regarded as adjunct of the verb or verb phrases also. For example[1] :

bisnur bamɒn ɒbɒtarɒt sɒˈlɒnakɔri | bɔˈlik
patalɒlɔi pɒthai dilɒt - ˈxibɒk tɒppɔsjakɔri—
ˈban rɒzae | xoˈnitpur razjɒkhɒn pae ||

'When *Bali* was deceived and sent to *Pātāla* during Lord *Vishnu*'s *Vāmana Avatāra*, King *Bāna*, through *tapasyā* to *Śiva*, received the kingdom of *Śonitapura*'.

In this utterance the whole first part up to tɒppɔsjakɔri is an Ex, ˈban rɒjae is the S, xoˈnitpur razjɒkhɒn is the O, and pae is the Verb.

10.32 The minimum utterance may consist of any one of S, O, V, Ex or even Cv in a connected discourse, or in very intimate expressions of command, question, answer to question, agreement or disagreement, or an emotional outburst ; e.g.

S : mɒe ||, 'I' (in answer to a question, say, for example, 'who did the work ?').

O : tomak #, 'To you (pol.)' (in answer to, say, 'Whom do you want to send home now ?').

V : pɔɲhilō ||, '(Yes, I) read'.

za # , 'Go (now) !'.

Cv : aru ? , 'And (who else ?)'.

tɛneɲɒle !, 'Then, (what is going to happen now !)'.

Ex : ketia ? 'When (did you say) ?'

'gɲɒrɒrpɒra olai aɲōtei ||, 'Just when coming out of the house'.

bɛgai ! 'quick !'

bɔɲi xui #, 'in a leisurely way', lit. 'sitting and sleeping', etc.

---

1. This sentence is from Dr B. Kakati : *Kumara Haraṇa*, in PURANI ASAMĪYĀ SĀHITYA, (1950), p. 11.

The Following two-constituent combinations # may also occur in any order as utterances :

S V, O V, Ex V, Cv S, Cv O, and Cv V ; e.g.

S V : ˈmɒe aɦisõ ‖ 'I have come'.

C V : kiˈtap pɔrɦilõ ‖ '(I) have read the book'.

Ex V : ɔˈti xoukale gɦuriba ‖ 'Come back very soon'.

Cv S : aru ˈtɛõ ? 'And (what about) he ?'
ˈxi zɔdi ? '(And) if (it were) he ?'

Cv O : tɛueɦɒle 'tak # 'Or else, to him !'

Cv V : zɔdi aˈɦilei ? 'If (some body) already arrived ?'
ne ˈgɔlei ! 'Or, already gone !', etc.

10.33 In an utterance each of the elements except Cv may be constituted of either a single constituent or more, being enlarged by adjuncts which may be maximally a whole clause or clauses, or phrase or phrases.

10.3310 All clauses occurring as adjuncts or enlargements of S, O etc. are subordinate clauses, subordinate to the principal clause ; e.g.

(i) tuˈmi ze ɦaspɒtalɒt pɔri asila | mɒe aˈziɦe gɒm palõ ‖

Here, the first part separated by the single bar juncture is the subordinate clause, the Object of the utterance. It means, 'that you were lying in the hospital'.

The second part is the principal clause, meaning, 'I came to know today only'.

(ii) ˈmatri sueɦɒr — zi pɔˈbitrɒ sueɦɒr tulɒna nai — xoad ˈmɒe bɦalkɔi nubuzilõ ‖.

To translate the whole utterance[1] literally : 'Of motherly affection — the pure love of which there is no comparison—the taste I did not understand properly'. Here, the perenthesis is a subordinate clause, an adjunct of an adjunct.

---

1. This utterance is from BHĀṆUMATĪ, (1872), p. 8 , by. P. N. Gohainbarua.

10.3311 Two or more clauses linked with or without Cv to form a larger utterance are coordinate clauses ; e.g.

(i) ˈkako pɔril - ˈtalo xɔril ‖ 'two things happened at the same time', literally : 'the crow also alighted (on the tree and) the *tāla* fruit also fell down'.

(ii) ˈtai aɦil - tuˈmi naɦila ‖ 'She came, (but) you did not'.

In the above utterances there is no Cv to link the clauses.

(iii) tumi aˈɦibai # nɒɦɒle xi naˈzabɒ ‖
'You must come, otherwise he will not go'.

In (iii) the two clauses are linked by nɒɦɒle, 'otherwise'.

10.3312 A subordinate clause may also contain more than one sub-coodinate clauses, i.e. coordinate clauses of a subordinate clause ; e.g.

tɛ̃ teˈtia kɔle - mɒeto ˈburɦai ɦɔlɔ̃ | uˈparzɒno kɔribɒ noarɔ̃ - tɒɦɒ̃tei mok etia palibɒ lagibɒ ‖

'Then he said, I have became old (and) can not earn also ; (and so) you will have to maintain me'.

In the above utternce, all the clauses are marked by phrase junctures, and there are no Cvs to link them. There are three sub-coordinate clauses in the utterace.

10.34 In longer utterances the constituents may be repeated twice or more times with or without any linking Cv.

Let us, for example, take the following utterance that contains two main coordinate clauses with seven Ex constituents in the principal clauses ; and three clauses in the subordinate clause, of which two are sub-coordinates. (The utterance is from L. N. Bezbarua's MOR JĪBAN SŌWARAṆ, (1961 edn.), p. 79).

ɦɛno dɦuˈburite ne goalparate - mor mɒˈnɒt nai # ˈbidjarɒtnɒr xudirgɦɒ snɒsruke ɒkhjɒkɔri | ɛzɒn ɒˈɦɔubɔlia ɦindue - ˈɦindudɦɒrmɒr bipɒkhje tɛ̃ɔr bɒktrita xuni | ˈbɒktritar xɒbɦate thiɒɦɔi -bɦɔrire

matit ˈgoroɦɒni mari - bidjarɒtnɒr ˈbɒktɪitar xur milai-ˈɦat mur zokari sɪ̃ɔri kɔisil # ˈlɒmba lɒmba dari lɔia - zaˈɦara bɒktrita kɔrite asen | taɦader ˈbuke pɒdagɦat # maˈthai pɒdagɦat ||

"I do not remember whether it is in Dhubri or in Goalpara, a Hindu madcap, having heard *Bidyāratna's* lectures against Hinduism, stood up in the lecture hall, and pointing at his long moustaches, striking on the ground with the heels, imitating the tone of *Bidyāratna's* lecture, shaking the head and the hands, and shouting said, 'Kicks on the head and the breast of those who have long moustaches and who are delivering lectures' ".

In this long utterance, there are two coordinating clauses which are broken up as follows :

Coordinating clause No. 1.

ɦɛno dɦuˈburite ne goalparate - mor mɒˈnɒt nai ||

To translate literally : 'Perhaps in Dhubri or in Goalpara, (it is) not in my mind'.

Here, the first part separated by the hyphen juncture may be treated as an Ex of the Verb.

Coordinating clause No. 2. This long clause may be broken up into one Subject phrase, one Verb with seven extensions, and one Object clause.

The Subject phrase :

ɛzɒn bˈɦɔubɔlia ɦindue, 'one Hindu madcap'.

The Verb :

kɔisil, 'said'.

Extensions :

(i) ˈbidjarɒtnɒr xudirgɦɒ smɒsruke lɒkhjɒkɔri,
'pointing at the long moustaches of *Bidyāratna*' ;

(ii) ˈɦiududɦɒrmɒr bipɒkhje tɛ̃ɔr bɒkrita xuni,
'having heard his lectures against Hinduism' ;

(iii) ˈbɒktritar xɒbɦate thiɒɦoi,
'standing up in the lecture hall';

(iv) bɦorire matit ˈgoroɦɒui mari,
'striking on the ground with the heel';

(v) bidjarɒtɒɒr ˈbɒktritar xurɒte xur milai,
'imitating the tone of *Bidyāratna's* lectures';

(vi) ˈɦat mur zokari, 'shaking the head and the hands';

(vii) sīɔri, 'shouting'.

The Object :

ˈlɒmba lɒmba dari lɔia - zaˈɦara bɒktrita kɔrite asen |
taɦader ˈbuke pɒdagɦat ‖ maˈthai pɒdagɦat ‖

This Object which is a long clause with two sub-coordinating and subordinating clauses (as an adjunct to the coordinating clauses) may be broken up as follows :

Coordinating clauses :

(i) taɦader ˈbuke pɒdagɦat, '(let there be) kicks on their breast',

(ii) maˈthai pɒdagɦat, '(let there be) kicks on the head'.

Subordinating clause (adjunct to taɦader in (i) above) :

(iii) ˈlɒmba lɒmba dari lɔia - zaˈɦara bɒktrita kɔrite asen,

This subordinating clause may be broken up as :

(iii a) S : zaˈɦara, 'those who',

(iii b) V : asen, 'come',

(iii c) Ex : (a) ˈlɒmba lɒmba dari lɔia,
'having very long moustaches',

(b) bɒktrita kɔrite, 'to deliver lectures'.

10.40 Word Order.

10.41 The most favourite word order in the language is : Subject plus Predicate ; e.g.

bʱarɒtɒr prɒdʱanmɒntri ˈlalbaʱadur sastri |
ˈtaskhɒndɒt dʱukal ‖,

'Lalbahadur Shastri the Prime Minister of India died in Taşkent'.

In this utterance, the first part separated by the single bar juncture is the S(ubject) with extensions in adjuncts ; and the rest is the P(redicate.)

10.4110 The order of the different constituents of P is generally as follows :

Ex plus O V ; e.g.

mɒe ˈbissɒbidjalɒerpɒra aʱi | siˈthi likhi asõ ‖

'I am writing letters after coming from the University'.

Here, S is mɒe, and all the rest is P which may be analyzed as :

Ex : ˈbissɒbidjalɒerpɒra aʱi, 'coming from the University',

O : sithi, 'letter',

V (phrase) : likhi asõ, 'am writing'.

10.4111 Ex may occur at the beginning or at the end of the utterance.

At the beginning ; e.g.

bisnur bamɒn ɒbɒtarɒt sɒˈlɒnakɔri | bɔˈlik
patalɒlɔi pɒthal dilɒt - ˈxibɒk tɒppɒsjakɔri - ˈban
rɒzae | xonˈuitpur razjɒkhɒn pae ‖.

(For meaning, please see § 10.3112).

In this utterance, the first three parts up to tɒpɒsjakɔri is an Ex consisting of three constituents, viz.

(i) bisnur bamɒn ɒbɒtarɒt sɒ'lɒnakɔri,

'having deceived in *Vishnu's Vāmana avatāra*',

(ii) bollik patalɒlɔi pɒthai ɖilɒt,

'When *Bali* was sent to *Pātāla*',

(iii) 'xibɒk tɒpɒsjakɔri,

'propitiating Lord *Śiva* by *tapasyā*'.

At the end ; e. g.

mɒe ba'tɔrikagɒzkhɒnɒke pɔrɦisõ - ɒlɒp xɒ'mɒe pai ‖

'Finding a little leisure time, I am reading the newspaper'.

In the above utterance, the last part separated by the hyphen juncture is an Ex occurring at the end.

10.4112 O may also occur at the end of the utterance ; e.g.

azɔri xɒmɒet 'gɦɒrɒte bɔɦi bɔɦi | prɔɦilõ ki'tapkhɒnɒke ‖

'Sitting at home during leisure hours, (I) read the book'.

Here, ki'tapkhɒnɒke, 'the book' is the Object.

The following order is also not rare ; e.g.

(i) pɔrɦilõ azɔri xɒmɒet 'gɦɒrɒte bɔɦi bɔɦi - ki'tapkhɒnɒke ‖

(ii) pɔ'rɦilo gɦɒrɒte bɔɦi bɔɦi azɔri xɒmɒet - ki'tapkhɒnɒke ‖

(iii) azɔri xɒmɒet pɔ'rɦilõ gɦɒrɒte bɔɦi bɔɦi kitapkhɒnɒke ‖

In the above three utterances the Object is at the end ; there may be other alternations also.

The order with the Object at the end, separated by a phrase juncture, generally indicates as if the Object is going to be left out, either purposely or by mistake, but is, then, added at an after thought.

10.42 The above order, i.e. S plus P may be alternated to P plus S if some part of the P is to be emphasized. Sometimes this alternation makes no change in semantic import of the utterance; e.g.

'taskhɒndɒt dɦukal - bɦarɒtɒr prɒdɦanmɒntri
'lalbaɦadur sastri ||

Here, the emphasis is laid on the fact that Shastri died in *Taskent*, and nowhere else.

10.4210 The following different order of P and S are noticed :

(i) Ex S V O,

(ii) Ex S O V,

(iii) Ex O S V,

(iv) Ex O V S.

The constituent Ex has the greatest freedom of occurrence in that it can occur anywhere in an utterance.

10.43 The subordinate clause or clauses as Ex also may precede or follow the constituent qualified ; e.g.

mɒe za'ke bissax kɒrõ - 'xeie mok prɒtarɒna kɒre ||
'Whomever I trust, deceive me'.

In this utterance, xeie is the Subject and the preceding clause is its adjunct. Note the following order where the first clause of the above utterance follows the Subject (the meaning is not changed) :

'xeie - mɒe za'ke bissax kɒrõ | mok prɒ'tarɒna kɒre ||

The whole clause may occur at the end also ; e.g.

'xeie mok prɒtarɒna kɒre - mɒe za'ke bissax kɒrõ ||

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is a select bibliography of books on Assamese and on descriptive linguistics. This list does not presuppose my direct indebtedness to all.

Assam Sāhitya Sabhā, 1932. *Chandrakānta Abhidhāna*, an Assamese to Assamese and English dictionary. First edition, Jorhat ; Second revised edition, Gauhati University, 1962.

Barua, B. K. 1953. Early Assamese Prose, in *Aspects of Early Assamese Literature*, 1st. Edition, Gauhati University, Gauhati.

— 1957. *Asamīyā Bhāṣā āru Saṁskṛiti*, 1st. Edition, Lawyer's Book stall, Gauhati.

Barua, H. C. 1900. *Hema-Koṣa*, an Assamese to Assamese and English dictionary, First edition. This is the first dictionary to attempt at an etymological approach.

— 1950. *Asamīyā Vyākaraṇa*, 19th edition. This was the first grammar of the language written in Assamese, and published in 1857 (?).

Bharali, D. 1912. *Asamīyā Bhāṣār Maulik Bicār*, First edition, Jorhat.

— 1959. *A Study of Phonology and Vocabulary of the Assamese Language*, Jorhat. The approach is not scientific.

Bhuyan, S. K. (ed.) 1962. *Tripurā Buranji*, 2nd Edition, (1st. Edition, 1938).

Bloch, B. and G. L. Trager, 1942. *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*, Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore.

Bloomfield, L. 1933. *Language*, New York.

Bora, S. 1960. *Bahal Vyākaraṇa*, 17th edition, Gauhati.

Bright, W. 1957. *The Karok Language*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Brouson. 1867. *Assamese Dictionary*, First edition. This is the first dictionary of the language.

Brown, N. 1818. *Grammatical Notes on the Assamese Language*, First edition, Sibsagar. 3rd edition, 1893.

Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II C (ii) *Language Tables.*

Chatterji, S. K. 1926. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta.

— 1921. *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics*, Calcutta.

— 1955. Assam and India, in the *Heritage of Assam*, Gauhati.

— 1956. The Name 'Assam-Ahom', in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 147-153.

Chomsky, N., 1597. *Syntactic Structures.* The Hague.

Emeneau, M. B., 1955. *Kolami, A Dravidian Language*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

— 1956. India as a Linguistic Area, in *Language*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 1-16.

Gleason, Jr., H. A., 1955. *An Introduction to Descriptive Languistics*, New York.

Goswami, G. C., 1959. Assamese Verb Morphology : Derivation, in the Journal of the Gauhati University, Vol. X, No. 1, Arts, pp. 49-67.

— 1953. Linguistic studies in Assamese, in the Journal of the Post-Graduate Students, Gauhati University, pp. 1-8.

— 1966. Classifiers and Quantifiers in Assamese, in *Studies in Indian Linguistics* (Professor M. B. Emeneau Ṣaṣṭipūrti Volume), Poona.

— 1970. Assamese, the Lingua franca in Eastern India, in the Souvenir of the Indian Economic Conference, 53rd session, Gauhati.

— 1971. Eastern and Central Assamese Dialects, in the Assam Academy Review, no. 1.

— 1966. (a) Dr. Banikanta Kakati and Assamese Linguistics, in the Journal of the Assam Research Society. (See also, Kakati, B.).

— 1966. (b) *An Introduction to Assamese Phonology*, Deccan College, Poona, 1st Edition.

— 1967. *Dhvanivijñānar Bhūmikā*, Gauhati, 1st. Edition. 2nd Edition 1977.

— *Asamīyā Golok Vyākaraṇ*, Gauhati, 1st. Edition. 2nd Edition 1973, 3rd Edition 1974.

— 1969. *Asamīyā Varṇa Prakāś*, 1st edn., Gauhati.

— 1972. *Asamīyā Akhar-jōtani*, i.e. Assamese System of writing, 1st. edn., Gauhati.

Goswami, U., 1970. *Kāmrupī* : A Dialect of Assamese, D.H.AS., Gauhati.

— 1978. *An Introduction to Assamese*, Gauhati, 1st. Edition.

Harris, Z. S., 1951. *Methods in Structural Linguistics*, Chicago.

Hockett, C. F., 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, New York.

— 1955. *Manual of Phonology*, Baltimore.

Joos, M. (Edited) : 1957. *Readings in Linguistics*, Washington.

Kakati, B., 1962. *Assamese, Its Formation and Development* (First edition, D.H.A.S., Gauhati, 1941), Second Editlon, Revised and edited by G. C. Goswami, Gauhati ; 3rd edn. 1972.

— (ed.) 1953. The Assamese Language, in *Aspects of Early Assamese Literature*, Gauhati University, Gauhati.

Lahiri, S. P. 1969. *Sileti Bhāṣātattver Bhūmikā*, Dacca.

Marchand, H. 1960. *The Categories and Types of Present-day English Word Formation*, Wiesbaden.

Medhi, K. R. 1936, *Asamīyā Vyākaraṇa Aru Bhāṣātattva*, Gauhati.

Nicholl, G. F. 1894. *Assamese Grammar*, London.

Nida, E. A. 1949. *Morphology*, The Descriptive Analysis of Words, Ann Arbor.

Pattanayak, D. P. 1966. *A Controlled Historical reconstruction of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali, and Hindi*. The Hague.

— 1969. Assamese and Oriya, in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 5. The Hague.

Pike, K. L. 1947. *Phonemics*, Ann Arbor,

— 1943. *Phonetics*, Ann Arbor.

Philological Society of London, 1957. *Studies in Linguistic Analysis*, Oxford.

Rebel, L. 1961.—*Khasi, A Language of Assam*, Baton Rouge.

Robinson, W. : *Assamese Grammar*, Serampore, 1839 (?) is the earliest Assamese grammar ; rare.

Sapir, E. 1921. *Language*, New York.

Saussure, F. 1916. *Cours de Linguistiqe Generale*, (Now available in English translation).

Trager, G. L., & H. L. Smith Jr., 1951. *An Outline of English Structure*, Studies in Linguistics, Occasional Papers 3.

Typical Selections from Assamese Literature, Vol. I, Calcutta University, 1929.

Vidyavinod, P. N. (Edited) 1338. *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāwalī*, Rangpur.

Watters, T. : *On Yuan Chang's Travels in India*, Vol. 2 (for references to the language of Kāmarūpa).

WORD INDEX

The words are arranged phonemically in the following order :

i e ɛ a ɒ ɔ o u ; k kh g gɦ, t th d dɦ, p ph b bɦ, s z x ɦ, m n ŋ, r l, j w.

The figures refer to sections.

i

i 7.2212, 9.3111, 9.3214
ie 3.41
iei 3.5210
iak 9.3215
iat 9.3214
iar 9.3214
iare 9.3214
ialɔi 9.3214
ikɒra 3.34
ikul 2.3231
iti 3.1313
itsa 2.3241, 2.45, 8.252211
ipsitɒ 2.45
id 2.3223
ibilak 8.4510, 9.3111
ibor 8.4510, 9.3111
issɒr 2.3281, 2.45
iswɒr 2.3281
izrail 2.3242
izjɒt 2.3242
ixɒkɒl 8.4514
iɦ̃ɒt 8.4511, 9.3111

e

ei 3.41, 3.5210, 5.2221, 5.2223, 8.3211, 9.3111, 9.3214
eiai 3.5212
eik 3.41, 3.5210, 9.3214
eikhɒn 8.3211, 8.4315
eit 9.3214
eizɒn 8.3211
eiɦ̃ɒt 8.4511, 9.3111
eir 9.3214
eire 9.3214
eilɔi 9.3214
ekɔtia 6.25
eko 9.2110
ekhet 8.3211, 9.3111, 9.3214
ekhetɒk 9.3214
ekhetɒt 9.3214
ekhetɒr 9.3214
ekhetɒre 9.3214
ekhetɒlɔi 9.3214
ekhetbilak 9.3111
ekhetxɒkɒl 8.4514, 9.3111
eti 3.1313, 6.21, 8.2248
etia 1.3211, 3.34, 8.3211
ethen 1.3211
eduli 2.3223
ezor 2.3242
eni 8.3211
eni teni 8.3211, 8.3212
erua 8.252311

ɛ

ɛ̃ɒra 3.31
ɛõ 7.2212, 8.3211, 8.4513, 9.3111, 9.3214
ɛõbilak 9.3111
ɛõlok 8.4513, 9.3111
ɛk 3.34, 3.43, 8.3211
ɛkati 6.25
ɛkosa 8.4322
ɛgɒraki 5.2221, 5.2223, 8.4312
ɛte 8.3211
ɛtek 8.3211
ɛtebor 8.3211
ɛta 2.1212, 5.2350, 6.21, 8.4313, 9.2110, 9.2120, 9.2130
ɛtha 2.1212, 2.3222
ɛdal 3.22
ɛdokhɒr 2.3223
ɛpak 2.3211
ɛpal 2.1212
ɛ́phal 2.1212, 2.3212
ɛ̃bati 9.2110
ɛbar 2.1212
ɛbɦar 2.1212
ɛsari 1.3212
ɛ́sɒta 8.4320
ɛzɒn 8.4310, 10.34
ɛzɒni 8.4311
ɛne 8.3211
ɛnekua 8.3211, 8.3213
ɛnekuakɔi 8.3211, 8.3213
ɛndɦar 8.2224
ɛ̃ŋar 2.1212
ɛr 7.2211, 8.252111, 8.252311
ɛral 1.3212, 8.2235

a

ai 3.41, 3.5210, 7.2213, 8.2230
aie 3.41
aiei 3.5212
aio 3.41, 3.5211
aiu 3.5211
aiuei 3.5213
aiux 3.5211
aiti 8.2230
aitiɦ̃ɒt 8.4511
aita 8.2245
aixɒkɒl 8.4514
aiɦ̃ɒt 8.4511
ain 8.252114
ãɔria 3.6413
aokan 6.25, 8.2510, 8.252112
aokɒnia 6.25, 8.2510
aokhal 8.252112
aogɔria 8.252112
aogɔru 8.252112
aodal 8.252112
aopak 8.252112
aobat 8.252112
aoɦɛla 8.252112
aoɦat 8.252112
aora 8.252112
ãuria 6.25
ãk 7.2215
akax 2.3231, 3.1312, 3.34
akaxɒt 9.2160
akaxkhɒn 8.4315
akar 2.3231
akɒr 2.1212
ãkɔri 6.25
akɔlua 6.25
akõɦ 8.252116
akul 2.3231
akrɒmɒn 2.3231, 2.45
akrox 2.3231
akha 8.2224
akhaxali 8.2224
akhara 2.3232

akhɒr 2.1212
akhjan 2.3232
ag 8.2224, 8.2229, 8.226218
agɒs 8.2229
agɒntuk 8.2234
agɒr 2.1212
agɒl 8.2224
agɔtia 8.2230, 8.2249
agua 8.2247, 8.226218
agrɒɦ 2.3233, 2.45
agɦat 2.3234
agɦran 2.3234
at 8.2222, 8.2241
ati 3.1313
atil 8.2241
atɒk 8.2222
atɒr 8.252111
ãtɒr 8.252111
atɔi 8.2233
atɔu 8.2252
atɔu pũtɔu 8.2413
atɔɦu 6.22
atsa 2.3241
atmiɒ 2.45
atma 2.3221, 2.45
atmɒ 2.3221
atmɒkɒtha 2.3221
atmɒɦɒtja 2.3221
athani 8.252110
ãthu 2.3222
athua 2.3222
ad 8.2221, 8.2240
adex 2.3223
ada 2.1212, 2.3223
adɒɦ 8.2221
adɒr 2.1212, 8.2510, 8.252110, 8.252123, 8.252211
adɒrɒni 8.2510
adɔudɔu 8.2415
adɔɦia 8.2221
adda 2.3223, 2.45
adjɒ 2.3223, 2.45
adɦiar 8.2240
adɦa 2.1212, 8.2240
adɦɔrua 2.1212
adɦɔli 2.3224
adɦunik 2.3224
adɦja 2.3224, 2.45
apɔdia 2.3223
apon 2.3252
aponak 9.3214
aponat 9.3214
aponar 9.3214
aponalɔi 9.3214
aponalok 8.4513, 9.3111, 9.3214
apuni 2.3211, 9.3214
apran 2.3211, 2.45
aphiŋ 2.1212, 2.3212
aphal 8.252110
aphɔri 2.3212
aphu 2 3212
aphuta 8.252110
abiɔi 3.5211, 8.252110
abiskar 2.45
abeli 3.1312, 8.25110
abɒr 8.252110
abɔtɔria 8.252110
abol tabol 8.2413
abur 2.3213
abɦax 2.3214
abɦɒza 8.252110
abɦok 8.252110
as 9.16, 9.17
ãs 8.2239
asila 10.3311
asen 10.34
asar 2.1212, 2.3241, 8.252110, 8.252211

asɒr 8.252110
asɔɦua 2.3244, 3.5210, 6.25
asɔrit 2.3211
asõ 10.41
ãsor 6.25, 8.2239
ãsora 6.25
astha 2.3241, 2.45, 8.2211
asphalɒn 2.45
assad 2.3241
asrɒm 2.3241
azi 2.3242
azibɒn 8.252110
aziɦe 10.3311
azanu 2.3242, 8.522110
azar 2.1212
azɔri 2.3242, 10.4111, 10.4112
azor 8.252110
ax 7.2215
axi 8.252212
axix 2.3243
axa 2.3243, 3.35
axar 2.1212
axɒkti 2.3231
axɒnnɒ 2.45
axɔi 8.252110
axu 2.3243
aɦ 3.6413, 9.151210
ãɦ 2.3244, 3.6413
aɦi 9.151210, 10.41
aɦibi 9.1313, 9.151210
aɦiba 9.151210
aɦibai 10.3312
aɦibɒ 9.131320, 9.151210
aɦisil 9.151210
aɦisili 9.151210
aɦisila 9.151210
aɦisilõ 9.151210
aɦise 9.151210, 9.2110
aɦisa 9.151210
aɦisɒ 9.151210
aɦisõ 9.151210, 9.2130, 10.32
aɦim 9.151210
aɦil 9.131430, 9.151210, 10.3312
aɦili 9.151210
aɦilei 10.32
aɦila 8.2241, 9.151210
aɦilɒt 9.1213
aɦilõ 9.151210
aɦe 9.131420, 9.151210
aɦa 9.151210
aɦar 2.1212, 2.3244, 8.252211
aɦɒ 9.151210
aɦɒk 9.151210
aɦɒt 3.6413
ãɦɒt 3.6413
aɦɒmmɒkh 2.45
aɦõ 9.151210
aɦõte 10.32
aɦban 2.45
aɦnik 2.45
aɦlad 2.45
ami 5.2310, 8.4513, 9.2130, 9.2140, 9.3110, 9.3214
amerikakhɒn 8.4315
amak 9.2140, 9.3214
amat 9.3214
amar 2.1212, 5.2340, 9.3214
amare 9.3214
amalɔi 9.3214
amalok 8.4513, 9.3111
amɒth 8.2232
amɒrɒn 8.2510, 8.252110
amɔi 8.2233
amɔthi 8.2232, 8.2249
amɔthu 8.2232, 8.2247
amtɔli 8.2261
au 7.2215, 8.252311
anɒndɒ 2.45

anɒr 2.1212
andol 8.252113, 8.252117
anza 2.45
ar 8.252111
ãr 2.3270, 7.2211, 8.252111, 8.252311
arɔi 3.5211
aru 2.1212, 9.2140, 10.32
art 2.3221
arsi 2.3241, 2.45
arz 2.3242, 2.45, 7.2216
arzɒ 8.252211
arzɒn 2.45
arzzɒ 2.3242
alɛkhjɒ 3.32
alɛph 2.3212
alagi 8.252110
alap 2.3211, 8.252115
alɒg 8.252118
alɒs 8.252110
alɒm 8.252118, 8.252121
alɔi 8.2233
alɔulɔua 8.2415
alɔtia 6.25, 8.2230
alɔxua 6.25
alɔɦi 3.1312, 8.4512
alɔɦikhɒn 8.4512
alɔɦu 8.2221
alu 2.1212
alna 2.45, 8.2227
alla 2.45

ɒ

ɒ 3.6415
ɒ̄ 3.6415
ɒeggɒta 2.45
ɒebbɦax 2.45
ɒka 3.6414
ɒkazi 8.2510
ɒkarɒn 8.252211
ɒkɒtha 8.252211
ɒkɒsmat 2.3251, 2.45
ɒkɒn 8.2248
ɒkɒni 8.2248
ɒkɒra 6.25
ɒkɒle 3.34
ɒkhjɒr 2.45
ɒgni 2.45
ɒgnimandjɒ 2.45
ɒgjan 2.3233
ɒgjɒ 2.3233, 2.45
ɒgɦait 3.42, 8.2231
ɒgɦɒ 8.2231
ɒgɦɔri 2.3234
ɒta 7.2215
ɒthali pɒthali 8.252121
ɒthɒni 2.3222
ɒdɦogɔti 2.3224
ɒdɦjapɒk 2.3224
ɒpɒtjɒ 2.3221
ɒpsɒra 2.45
ɒprɒ 2.45
ɒpholia 8.252110
ɒbabɒte 2.3213
ɒbɒtɒrɒt 10.3112, 10.4111
ɒbhed 3.42
ɒbɦɒe 8.252211
ɒbɦrɒ 2.3214, 2.45
ɒbɦjax 2.3214, 2.45
ɒbɦjudɒe 2.3214
ɒstɒm 2.3214, 2.45
ɒstrɒ 2.45
ɒslil 2.3260, 2.45
ɒzɒla 2.3242, 6.25
ɒzɒsrɒ 2.3241
ɒxɒm 1.10, 2.3243
ɒxɒmbɦɒb 2.3213, 2.3214
ɒxɒntuxia 4.14
ɒxɔmia 2.3243
ɒxɔriri 2.3270

ɒxok 2.3243
ɒɦẽ 1.3211
ɒɦa 8.2246
ɒɦãi 1.3211
ɒɦalɔi 9.2140
ɒɦɒlja 2.3260, 2.3282
ɒɦɔu 10.34
ɒmil 8.252211
ɒmat 2.3221, 8.252211
ɒmatjɒ 2.3221
ɒmɒt 8.252211
ɒmɒr 8.252211
ɒmɒl 3.45
ɒmrit 2.3251, 2.45
ɒmrita 2.45
ɒmlɒ 2.45
ɒniti 8.252211
ɒnitsa 8.252211
ɒnatãr 8.252211
ɒnathiti 8.252211
ɒnadɒr 8.252211
ɒnadox 8.252211
ɒnabristi 8.252211
ɒnasar 8.252211
ɒnastha 8.252211
ɒnaɦar 8.252211
ɒnaɦɒk 8.252211
ɒnarzɒ 8.252211
ɒnɒbɒrɒt 2.3213
ɒnɒntɒ 8.252211
ɒnɔikjɒ 2.3231
ɒnɒbɦigjɒ 8.252211
ɒntɒ 2.45, 8.252211
ɒntrɒ 2.3221
ɒntjɒ 2.3221, 2.45
ɒndɦɒ 2.45, 8.2224
ɒndɦɒla 8.2224
ɒndɦrɒ 2.45
ɒnsɒl 2.45
ɒnnɒ 2.45
ɒnjai 2.3282
ɒnjɒ 2.45, 8.2232
ɒnjɒtha 8.2232
ɒŋkɒ 2.3253, 2.45
ɒŋgɒ 2.3253, 2.45
ɒŋxidar 2.3253, 2.45
ɒ̃ra 3.6414
ɒrɒujɒ 2.3282
ɒrɒra 8.2228
ɒrgɦa 2.3234, 2.45
ɒrgɦɒ 2.3234
ɒrtsɒna 2.3241
ɒrthɒ 2.3222, 2.45
ɒrdɦɒ 2.3224, 2.45
ɒrpɒn 2.3211, 2.45
ɒrs 2.45, 7.2216
ɒrssɒna 2.3241
ɒrxɒ 2.45
ɒrɦɒta 2.3244, 2.45
ɒlekh 2.3232, 3.22, 3.43
ɒlɒp 10.4111
ɒlɒŋkar 3.34
ɒlɒŋgɦjɒ 2.45
ɒlɔukik 3.5211

ɔ

ɔi 7.2213
ɔikjɒ 2.45
ɔu 3.5210, 7.2213
ɔus 7.2217
ɔt 1.3211
ɔti 3.1313, 10.32
ɔtibaɦitɒ 3.41
ɔdɦir 2.3270, 8.252211
ɔdɦikar 2.3224, 3.41
ɔbisar 3.252211, 3.34
ɔbiɦɒne 8.252211
ɔbuz 8.252211
ɔbɦigjɒ 8.252211
ɔbɦigjɒta 8.252211

ɔbɦimɒnju 2.3252
ɔsru 2.45
ɔsjut 2.3241
ɔzugut 2.3233
ɔxim 2.3243
ɔxur 2.3243
ɔnutɒptɒ 2.45
ɔr 7.2212
ɔrzzun 2.3242

o

okal 8.252119
okalɔti 3.34
okhɒ 8.2221
okhora 8.2228
opɒz 8.252119
obɦɒt 6.23
obɦɒtɒni 2.3214
osɒr 3.45
ozɒn 2.3242
omɒl 8.252119
ondola 8.252119
orɒni 3.41
ola 6.23, 8.226212, 8.226217, 8.252119, 8.252311
olai 10.32
olaok 9.1314
olɒg 8.252119
olɒgɒni 8.252119
olɒt 8.2230, 8.252119, 8.252121
olɒm 8.252119

u

ũi 3.6416, 3.5210
uɒl 8.252122
uk 7.2211
uki 8.252212
ukia 8.252212
ukil 2.3231, 2.3260
uka 7.2211
ukɒt 8.252122
ukɒskɒs 8.2415
ukɒl 8.23, 8.252122
ukti 2.45
ukhɒɦ 8.2221, 8.252122
ugar 8.252122
ugɦal 8.252122
ugɦɔli 2.3234
ut 7.2215
uti 3.1313
utar 8.252122
utɒl 8.252122
utkɒt 2.3221, 2.45
utkhat 2.3221, 2.45
uttɒm 3.34
uttɒr 2.3221, 2.45
utthapɒn 2.45
utthan 2.3221, 2.45
utpirɒnɒr 5.2221, 5.2223
utpat 2.45
utpadɒn 2.45
utphullɒ 2.3221, 2.45
utsɒ 2.45
utsɒta 2.3241
utsuk 2.3241
utxaɦ 2.45
utxɒ 2.45
uth 2.3222, 7.2211
uthi 9.1410
uthɒpthɒp 8.2415
udɒja 8.252122
udɒga 8.252122
udgirɒn 2.45
udgɦatɒn 2.3223, 2.45
uddesjɒ 2.45
uddam 2.45
uddɦar 2.3223, 2.45
uddɦɒt 2.45
uddɦriti 2.45
udbɦid 3.41
udbɦɒb 2.3214, 2.45
udbɦirantɒ 2.3214, 2.3223

udɦa 8.252122
udɦao 8.252122
udɦatu 8.252122
udɦar 8.252122
upasjɒ 2.3241
upɔzisil 9.2110
uphi 2.3212
upha 8.252117
uburia 8.252122
ubɦɔti 6.23
usat 8.252122
usɒta 8.252122
usɒrg 8.252122
usɒrga 8.252122
usmɒ 2.3251
uzir 2.3242
uza 7.2211, 8.226212, 8.252122
uzɒl 8.252122
uzzɒl 2.3242
uzjɒ 2.3242, 2.45
ux 7.2215
uxa 2.3243
uxaɦ 8.252122
um 8.2235
umal 8.2235
unaxi 8.252221
unaxɔttɔr 8.252212
unaɦ 8.252212
unanɔbbɔi 8.252212
unɒpɒnsas 8.252212
unɒxathi 8.252212
unɒxɒ 8.252212
unɒxɔttɔr 8.252212
unɔis 8.252212
unuaxi 8.252212
unukia 8.252212, 8.252311
unupɒnsas 8.252212
unuxathi 8.252212
unuxɔttɔr 8.252212
untris 8.252212
unsɔllis 8.252212
unmɒttɒ 2.3221
ur 7.2211, 8.2227, 8.2249, 8.252111, 8.252311
ura 4.2313, 5.2213
urɒn 8.2249
urɒnia 8.2227
urdu 2.3223
ulia 6.23, 8.226217
ulka 2.45
ulta 2.45, 8.252115

k

ki 2.3231, 8.3213, 9.2140, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214
kiɒ 3.5210
kit 3.41
kitip 8.2238
kitap 2.3231, 3.42, 8.3213, 10.32
kitapkhɒn 8.4315, 9.2110
kitapkhɒnɒke 10.4112
kibilak 9.3111
kiba 5.2320, 5.2330, 8.3213, 8.3225, 9.3111, 9.3214
kibae 9.3214
kibak 9.3214
kibakibi 2.3213
kibat 9.3214
kibabilak 9.3111
kibabor 9.3111
kibar 9.3214
kibare 9.3214
kibalɔi 9.3214
kibor 8.3213, 9.3111
kisu 8.3213, 8.3224
kisukɔi 8.3224
kisuman 8.3213, 8.3224
kiɦ 8.3213, 8.3222, 9.3120
kiɦe 9.3111, 9.3214
kiɦere 9.3214
kiɦɒk 9.3214
kiɦɒt 3.6414, 9.3214

kiɦɒba 8.3213, 8.3222, 8.3225, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214
kiɦɒbae 9.3214
kiɦɒbak 9.3214
kiɦɒbat 9.3214
kiɦɒbar 9.3214
kiɦɒbare 9.3214
kiɦɒr 9.3214
kiɦɒlɔi 9.3214
kinibi 2.3213
kirɒn 2.3231
kirti 2.3221
keikhɒn 8.3213
keigɒraki 8.3213
keita 3.5210
keidal 8.3213
keibakhɒno 8.3213, 8.3225
keibazɒno 8.3213
keɔlia 1.3210, 3.5210
keuila 1.3210
ketia 1.3211, 8.3213, 9.2140, 10.32
ketiaba 8.3213
ketiabai 9.2110
ketu 2.3231
kethen 1.3211
kebɔl 2.3213, 3.42
kex 8.2228
kexɒr 8.2228
keni 8.3213
keniba 8.3213, 8.3225
kenibadi 8.3213
kerepia 8.2249
keresia 8.2229
kelɔu keɔsu 8.2416
kẽa 3.31, 3.43, 3.5210, 3.6421
kẽai 3.5210
kẽo 3.5210
kẽo 8.3213, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214
kẽoe 9.3214
kẽotɒni 8.2251
kɛt 8.3213
kɛtɛra 8.2228
kɛtaman 2.3231
kɛtbilak 8.3213
kɛtbor 8.3213
kɛɦɛta 8.2230
kɛɦɛtali 8.2230, 8.2235
kɛmp 2.45
kɛne 8.3213
kɛnekua 8.3213, 8.3223
kɛnekuakɔi 8.3213, 8.3223
kɛneba 8.3213, 8.3225
kɛnebakɔi 8.3213, 8.3225
kɛrepia 8.2238
kɛ̃rɛp 8.2238
kɛ̃rɛpa 8.2238
kɛra 8.252117
kɛ̃ra 8.2221, 8.2228
kɛraɦi 8.2221
kɛrani 8.2256
kɛr zɛr 8.2413
kɛr mɛr 8.2413
kɛr mɛra 8.2413
kɛ̃r nɛ̃mɛra 8.252313
kaik 6.24
kaiik 6.24
kãit 3.41, 3.5210, 3.6413
kãitia 6.25
kaita 1.3210
kauri 3.5210, 8.2240, 8.2247
kak 9.3214
kaka 8.2233
kako 10.3312
kagɒzkhila 8.4321
kagɒzkhɒnɒke 10.4111
kat 2.1212, 6.25, 8.2235, 9.3214
kati 6.25
katia 1.3210
kata 8.2224
katkut 8.2414
kath 2.3222, 8.2236, 8.2247
katham 2.3222, 8.2236
kathɒra 8.2228
kathdal 8.4317

kathsɒta 8.4320
kapor 1.3210
kaporkhɒɒ 8.4315
kapur 1.3210
kabɔu 1.3210
kabo 1.3210
kabjik 2.45
kabjɒ 2.3213
kasɒ 2.3214, 3.45
kasmiri 8.2249
kaz 8.2510
kazi 8.2510
kazia 2.3231
kazɒl 6.25, 8.2224
kazɔli 6.25, 8.2224
kax 2.3243, 3.3231, 8.2228
kaxɒr 8.2228
kaxɔria 8.2228
kãɦ 8.2240
kãɦi 2.3244
kaɦani 8.3213
kaɦaniba 8.2240, 8.2251
kaɦuri 8.2240, 8.2251
kaɦura 8.2240
kam 8.2234, 8.2235, 8.2240, 8.2241, 8.252123, 9.2120
kamiz 2.3242
kamila 8.2241
kaṁɒlɔi 9.2140
kamor 6.25, 8.2227, 8.2239
kamora 6.25
kamorɒni 8.2227, 8.2239
kamuk 8.2234, 8.2247
kamto 5.2310, 9.2140
kamjɒ 2.3251, 2.45
kani 6.25
kania 6.25
kanɒngu 2.45
kand 2.45, 2.51, 6.25, 7.2221
kandɒ 4.1211, 4.14
kandura 6.25, 8.2240, 8.2246
kandɦ 2.51
kaɲal 8.2235
kar 9.3214
kãr 2.3270
kare 9.3214
karɒn 2.3231, 8.252211
karɒnto 8.4313
karobak 9.3214
karobat 9.3214
karobar 9.3214
karobare 9.3214
karobalɔi 9.3214
karphai 2.45
kal 2.1211, 8.2223, 8.252118
kali 8.2249
kalia 8.2249
kalika 8.2223
kaliphɒrnialɔi 5.2213
kalɒr 8.2228, 9.2150
kalɔi 9.3214
kalɔri 8.2228, 8.2251
kɒ 6.21, 6.22, 8.252212, 9.1213
kɒe 3.5210
kɒena 3.42, 3.5210
kɒɒ 6.22
kɒok 9.131410
kɒkoi 8.2233
kɒkbɒk 8.2413
kɒkbɒka 8.2413
kɒ̃tia 6.22
kɒta 6.22, 9.2120
kɒtɒp 8.2238
kɒtɒpa 8.2238
kɒtɒna 8.2227
kɒtɒla 8.2224
kɒtoa 6.25
kɒtoal 3.5210, 8.2235
kɒtsit 2.3241
kɒth 2.3222
kɒtha 5.2310, 5.2320, 8.2223, 8.2249, 9.1213
kɒthɒk 8.2223
kɒthɔki 8.2223, 8.2249

kɒthor 2.3222, 3.45
kɒthjɒ 2.45
kɒpaɦ 8.2249
kɒpaɦi 8.2249
kɒph 2.3212
kɒsal 8.23
kɒsɒk 8.2222
kɒsɒka 8.2246
kɒsɒla 8.23
kɒsɔli 8.23
kɒzɒla 8.2224
kɒɦẽ 1.3211
kɒɦãi 1.3211
kɒ̃ɦar 8.2240
kɒ̃ɦarɒni 8.2240
kɒm 8.226213
kɒma 2.1212, 8.226213
kɒmar 8.2240
kɒmarɒni 8.2226, 8.2240
kɒmoa 8.226216
kɒmbɒl 2.45
kɒna 2.1212, 6.25
kɒnthɒ 2.45
kɒnthjɒ 2.3222
kɒnda 6.25
kɒnja 2.3252
kɒŋali 8.2235
kɒr 2.3270, 7.2219, 8.2229, 8.226215, 8.252311, 9.1212, 9.1213, 9.1214, 9.151210
kɒre 3.45, 9.131420, 9.151210, 10.43
kɒra 8.226215, 8.252311, 9.1212, 9.1311, 9.151210, 9.2120
kɒrai 9.151210
kɒraiti 8.2243
kɒraisil 9.151210
kɒraisili 9.151210
kɒraisila 9.151210
kɒraisilõ 9.151210
kɒraise 9.151210
kɒraisa 9.151210
kɒraisɒ 9.151210
kɒraisõ 9.151210
kɒrae 9.151210
kɒrap 9.151210
kɒraõ 9.151210
kɒraok 9.151210
kɒrabi 9.151210
kɒraba 9.151210
kɒrabɒ 9.151210
kɒram 9.151210
kɒrali 9.151210
kɒrale 9.151210
kɒrala 9.151210
kɒralɔi 9.2140
kɒralõ 9.151210
kɒrɒ 9.1313, 9.151210
kɒrɒk 9.131410, 9.151210
kɒrɒ̃ti 3.23, 8.2243
kɒrɒpa 8.2238
kɒrɒra 8.2238
kɒrõ 9.151210, 9.2130, 10.43
kɒroa 3.5210, 3.47, 6.25, 8.2246, 8.226216, 9.151210
kɒroaõ 3.5211, 9.1311
kɒrõo 3.5210
kɒrooa 3.47
kɒrõta 3.6415, 8.2243
kɒrkɒx 2.3231, 2.45
kɒrta 2.3221
kɒrɪni 2.45
kɒrmɒ 2.3251
kɒl 2.3231, 7.2219
kɒla 8.2228, 8.2246, 8.2251
kɒlɒɦ 8.2252
kɒlɒŋ 9.1410
kɒlkɒla 8.2411
kɒlpɒua 2.45
kɔi 5.2213, 6.22
kɔira 3.46
kɔilaxɒr 4.1212
kɔntuk 3.48, 8.2234

kɔt 1.3210, 3.1311, 3.46, 7.2212, 8.3213
kɔto 8.3213
kɔtu 2.3231
kɔthiatɔli 8.2261
kɔthika 8.2223
kɔthua 8.2247
kɔphi 2.3212
kɔbɒ 2.3213, 3.45
kɔbɔ 6.22
kɔbɔlɔi 3.5210
kɔndua 6.25
kɔr 2.3270, 8.3213
kɔri 9.1410, 9.151210, 10.3112, 10.34, 10.4111
kɔribi 9.151210
kɔriba 1.3210, 9.1312, 9.151210
kɔribɒ 9.131420
kɔribɒlɔi 9.2140
kɔribɔlɔi 6.22
kɔrite 10.34
kɔrisi 1.3210
kɔrisil 5 2221, 5.2223, 9.131420, 9.151210, 10.34
kɔrisili 9.1313, 9.151210
kɔrisila 9.1312, 9.151210
kɔrisilõ 5.2310, 9.151210
kɔrise 1.3210, 9.131420, 9.151210, 9.2120
kɔrisei 2.3220
kɔrisa 9.1312, 9.151210
kɔrisɒ 9.1313, 9.151210
kɔrisõ 9.151210
kɔrim 9.1311, 9.151210
kɔrili 9.1313, 9.151210
kɔrile 1.3211, 9.131420, 9.151210
kɔrila 1.3211, 9.151210
kɔrilak 1.3211, 9.151210
kɔrilõ 9.151210
kɔrun 2.3270
kɔruna 8.252118
kɔli 3.46
kɔlikɒta 9.2160
kɔlikɒtar 4.2313, 5.2213, 9.2150
kɔle 10.3313
kɔleo 3.5210
kɔla 3.44
kɔlɔi 8.3213
kɔlɔu 8.2252
kɔlɔu zɔpɔu 8.2416
kɔllak 1.3211
koa 3.47, 3.5210, 6.21, 8.2240, 8.2246
koao 3.5211
kõɒr 6.23
kot 2.3221, 3.1311, 3.47
kotoɲa 8.2221
koth 2.3222
kotha 8.2235
kothali 8.2235
kopit 2.3211
kob 2.3213
kobae 9.2120
kos 2.3241
kõɲ 2.3244
koɲali 8.2235
koɪnɒl 8.2224, 8.2231
komɒlɒta 8 2231
komora 1.3210, 2.3231
kon 7.2215, 8.3213, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214
kone 9.3214
kono 8.3213, 8.3221, 9.3111, 9.3120
konokonobilak 8.4510
konokonobor 8.4510
konoba 2.3213, 5.2221, 5.2223, 8.3213, 8.3221, 8.3225, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214
konobae 9.3214
konobilak 9.3111
konobor 9.3111
konbilak 9.3111
konbor 9.3111
kona 2.1212

korba 1.3210
kua 1.3212
kũɔri 3.6416, 6.23
kũɔli 3.48
kukam 8.252126
kukɒtha 8.252126
kukur 3.48, 8.4511
kukurkhɒn 8.4512
kukurzɒni 8.4311
kukurɦɒ̃t 8.4511
kut 3.1311, 8.2241
kutil 8.2241
kutum 2.3231
kutur 8.2228
kutula 8.2224
kutsit 2.3241
kubad 8.252126
kubas 8.252126
kubzɒ 2.45
kusitãr 8.4325
kusɒkrɒ 8.252126
kusuni 8.2226
kux 2.3243
kũɦi 3.6416
kũɦiar 3.6416
kuɦulia 3.6416, 8.2224
kum 3.6416
kumeru 8.252126
kumar 8.2240
kumarɒni 8.2226. 8.2240
kumɔti 8.252126
kumɔlia 3.6416
kumbɦir 2.45
kumbha 8.2240
kumra 1.3210
kunti 3.6416
kurup 8.252126
kurulia 8.2224
kursut 2.3241
kulkul 8.2411
kulkulia 8.226215
kulkulioa 8.226215
kulkula 8.2411
kul nukula 8.252313
kria 2.45
kritɒgɦɒn 2.3234, 2.45
kripɒnali 8.2235
krɒm 2.45
krodɦ 3.32
krur 3.32
klex 2.45
klauti 2.45

kh

khitiŋ 8.2237
khitɔu 8.2252
khitkhitia 8.2411
khin 2.3232
khir 2.3232, 8.2230
khirale 9.131420
khirɔti 8.2230, 8.2249
kheti 8.2223
khetiɲk 2.3232, 8.2223, 8.2248
kheluai 8.2233
kheluɔi 6.21
khɛt 8.2223
khɛd 8.226214
khɛ̂da 8.226214
khạno 8.3221, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214
khɛnoe 9.3214
khɛnok 9.3214
khɛnot 9.3214
khɛnor 9.3214
khɛnolɔi 9.3214
khɛr 2.3270
khɛl 6.21, 8.2227, 8.2233, 8.226214
khɛla 8.226214
khɛlaru 2.3232, 8.2240, 8.2247
khɛlõ 3.43
khɛlna 3.22, 8.2227

kha 6.25, 8.2227, 8.226212, 8.252311, 8.252312, 9.1212, 9.1213
khai 9.1410
khaiti 8.2243, 8.2251
khaisili 9 1313
khaise 9.131420
khaisaɦ 1.3211
khaisɒ 1.3211, 9.1313
khae 3.42, 3.5210, 9.131420
khaɒ 3.5210, 9.1313
khaɒo 3.5211
khaɒn 3.44, 3.5210, 6.25, 8.2227
khaɒni 3.5210, 8.2227, 8.2250
khaɔria 3.44, 3 6413, 6.25
khaõ 3.47, 9.1311
khaoɒn 6.25
khaoɔria 6.25
khaok 9.131410
khaõta 8.2243, 8.2251
khat 2.1211, 8.2224, 8 2227
khataŋ 8.2237
khatɒniar 6.25, 8.2227, 8.2240, 8.2248
khatɒla 8.2224
khadɒk 8.2223
khabɒ 1.3210, 9.131420
khabɔu 1.3210
khamos 8.2229
khar 8.2225
kharɒni 8.2225
kharu 2.3232
khal 2.1211
khali 9.1313
khalɒt 9.1213
khɒtkhɒt 8.2411
khɒtkhɒta 8.226312
khɒtkhɒtɒni 8 2411
khɒdɒmdɒm 8.2415
khɒdɒmdɒma 8.2415
khɒpzɒp 8.2413
khɒpzɒpa 8.2413
khɒpzɒpɒni 8.2227
khɒpɔuzɒpɔu 8.2413
khɒskhɒsɒni 8.2413
khɒzɔti 8.2230
khɒɦ 8.252122
khɒnia 8.2248
khɒniai 2 3282
khɒŋ 8.2235
khɒŋal 8.2235
khɒr 8.2235, 8.2237
khɒraŋ 8.2237
khɒrɒs 2.3241, 6.22
khɒrɒm 2.3232
khɒrɔsi 6.22
khɒl 8.2252, 8.252116
khɒlɒp 8.2238
khɔtua 8.2247
khɔzɔti 8.2250
khɔri 2.3232
khɔrial 8 2235
khɔrikosa 8.4322
khɔrisa 8.2245
khɔrisɒta 8.4320
khɔrɔsi 6.22
khoa 6.25, 8.252312
khos 8.2228
khosɒr 8.2228
khoroŋ 8.2237
khola 8 252116
kholosa 2.3232
kholoŋ 8.2237
khua 8.252311, 9.1213, 9.1214
khuai 3.5211
khuaiei 3.5213
khuaise 9.2130
khuaisɒ 1 3211
khuae 3.5210
khuasɒ 1 3211
khualõ 9.1311
khuoa 3.47, 6.25
khuua 6.25
khut 8.252118

khutura 2.3232
khutkhat 8.2414
khub 2.3213
khusura 2.3241
khuskhas 8.2414
khund 8.226217
khundia 8.226217
khunda 8.226217
khur 2.3232, 3.48
khristabdɒ 2.45
khjati 2.3232, 2.45
khjantɒ 2.3232
khjobɦ 2.3214

g

git 2.3233
gil 8.226215
gila 8.226215
gerua 2.3233
gɐd 3.43
gɐdɦɛ̃ma 8.2235
gɐzɛ́pɒni 8.2238, 8.2250
gɐndɦɐla 8.2224
gɐndɦeli 8.2224
gɐr 8.2221, 8.2224
gɐ̃r 8.2224
gɐ̃reɦa 8.2221
gɐrɐla 8.2224
gɐreli 8.2224
gɐl 2.3233
ga 2.3233, 7.2214
gai 8.2234
gaiika 8.2223
gaipk 3.41, 8.2223
gaika 8.2223
gaõ 8.2235
gaõɒr 3.47
gaõɔlia 6.25, 8.2235, 8.2249
gakhir 2.3232, 9.2130
gat 2.2111
gãt 6.25
gato 8.4317
gadɦɒ 8.4511
gadɦɒɦɔ̃t 8.4511
gabɦɔru 2.3214
gaza 8.2258
gazakhur 8.2258
gaɦɔri 8.4511
gaɦɔrɪɦɔ̃t 8.4511
gamosa 1.3212
gan 9.1213
gar 8.252122
gal 2.1211
galisa 8.2244
gale 9.1213
gɒ̃tua 6.25
gɒ̃p 8.2235
gɒ̃pal 8.2235
gɒs 8.2235
gɒsa 3.6415
gɒsɒk 2.3231, 8.2222, 8.2227
gɒsɒka 8.2246
gɒsɒkɒni 8.2227, 8.2250
gɒsɒr 9.2150
gɒsdal 8.4317
gɒsbilak 8.4510
gɒsbor 8.4510
gɒm 10.3311
gɒn 8.2230
gɒnti 8.2230
gɒŋga 3.6414
gɒr 8.2241
gɒra 8.252112, 8.252115, 8.252118
gɒraki 8.2234
gɒrɒbɦ 2.3214
gɒrɒm 2.3233
gɒrɒl 8.2224
gɒrɔlia 8.2224, 8.2249
gɒrbitɒ 2.3213
gɒrbɦɒ 2.3214, 2.45

gɒrɦ 7.2221
gɒl 8.226213
gɒla 8.226213
gɒlpɒ 2.45
gɔisil 5.2320, 5.2330
gɔisili 9.1313
gɔise 9.2130
gɔti 2.3233
gɔtia 8.2248
gɔsuai 8.2233
gɔrila 8.2241
gɔrɔkhiaɦɒ̃t 8.4511
gɔru 8.252112, 9.2110, 9.2120
gɔrue 3.48, 3.5210
gɔrueo 3.5211
gɔruo 3.5210
gɔruu 3.48
gɔrukhɒn 8.4510
gɔrubilak 8.4510
gɔrubor 8.4510
gɔruɦɒ̃t 8.4512
gɔl 4.2210, 5.12, 9.1213, 9.2110
gɔlei 3.41, 10.32
go 8.2235
goar 3.6414
gõar 3.6414
goal 8.2235, 3.5211
goali 8.2235
goalini 8.2226
gota 2.3233
godɦa 8.2235
godɦoma 8.2235
gopi 3.24
gopjɒ 2.45
gosɒr 2.3241
goswami 2.3281, 2.45
goma 8.2246
gomotha 8.2232, 8.2246
gorɔɦɒni 10.34
gol 8.226217, 8.252121
gũi 3.6416
guaɦati 3.48, 3.5210
guaɦatit 9.2115
guaɦatitkɔi 9.2115
guaɦatir 9.2114
gualparate 10.34
guti 3.1312
gudula 8.2224
gupi 3.24
guput 2.3221
gusil 9.1213
gusuali 2.3270
gunda 4.1211
gundami 8.2236, 8.2250
guri 8.2235
gurial 8.2235
guru 2.3233, 8.2256
gurugiri 8 2256
gul 8.252122
guli 8.226217
gulia 8.226217
grismɒ 2.45
grax 7.2224
grɒɦɒ 2.45
grɒɦɒn 2.45
gjati 2.45
gjan 2.45
glani 2.45

gɦ

gɦĩu 3.2218, 3.6410
gɦitiŋtiŋ 8.2415
gɦin 2.3234
gɦẽɦu 2.3234, 3.31
gɦer 2.3234
gɦa 6.25
gɦagɔri 1.3210
gɦagɦri 1.3210
gɦat 2.1211, 6.25, 8.2233, 8.2234
gɦati 2.3234

ghatɒk 8.2223
ghatɔi 8.2233
ghatuai 8.2233
ghatual 8.2235
ghatuk 8.2234
ghãhɒni 3.31
ghal 2.1211, 8.252122
ghɒt 8.2235
ghɒtal 8.2235
ghɒtɒna 8.2227
ghɒ̃he 3.31
ghɒn 8.252123
ghɒne ghɒne 9.2111
ghɒr 2.3234, 5.2340, 6.22, 8.2229, 8.2237
ghɒrɒte 10.4112
ghɒrɒr 10.32
ghɒrɒloi 4.2210, 5.2213, 5.2310, 5.2320, 5.2330, 5.2340, 9.2110
ghɒrɔsia 6.22, 8.2229, 8.2249
ghɒrkhɒn 8.4315
ghɒrto 8.4317
ghɔia 6.25
ghɔiai 3.5213
ghɔini 9.2211
ghɔiniɛk 9.2214
ghɔiniɛke 4.1212
ghɔiniɛr 9.2212
ghɔiniɛra 9.2213
ghɔti 8.2248
ghɔtua 6.25, 8.226218
ghɔtuaiei 3.5214
ghɔri 2.3234
ghɔrɔsia 6.22
ghɔrua 6.22, 8.2247
ghokɒt 8.2230
ghokɒtɒni 8.2227, 8.2250
ghokota 8.2230
ghodal 8.23
ghodɒl 8.23
ghos 8.2258
ghoskhur 8.2258
ghõra 2.3234
ghõrae 9.2111
ghutuli 8.2251
ghur 2.3234, 8.252110
ghuriba 10.34
ghritɒ 2.45
ghrau 2.45

t

tia 3.6410, 8.226212
tĩa 3.31, 3.6410
tiam 2.3282
tikendrɒ 2.3231
tik nitika 8.252313
tikha 8.2228
tikhɒr 8.2228
tikhnɒ 2.45
tighilghil 8.2415
tighilghila 8.2415
tighilghilɒni 8.2227, 8.2415
tighil nighila 8.252313
tit 8.226212
titiki 2.3221
tibrɒ 2.45
tiɦere 8.3222
tiɦɒke 8.3222
tiɦɒba 8.3225
timan 8.3212
tini 8.4313
tinita 8.4313
tir 3.41
tiriŋ 8.2237
tiriŋ biriŋ 8.2413
tirota 2.3270, 8.2246, 8.3212, 8.4312
tirotagɒraki 8.4312
tirotabilak 8.4511
tirotabor 8.4511
tirbir 8.2237, 8.2413
tirbira 8.2413
tirbirɒni 8.2413
tiliŋi 8.2237, 8.2250

tiliŋa 8.2237
tekeli 2.3231
tekhet 3.42, 9.3111, 9.3214
tekhete 9.3214
tekhetɒk 9.3214
tekhetɒt 9.3214
tekhetɒr 9.3214
tekhetɒlɔi 9.3214
tekhetbilak 9.3111
tekhetxɒkɒl 8.4515, 9.3111
tetia 1.3211, 8.3212, 10.3313
tetiar 8.3212
tetialɔi 8.3212
teteli 2.3221, 3.22
tethen 1.3211
tebulɒt 9.2115
temi 3.6411
temsɒr 5.2221, 5.2223
teni 8.3211, 8.3212
teŋɔri 3.6411
teli 8.2249
tɛõ 3.47, 5.2310, 5.2320, 5.2330, 7.2212, 8.3212, 9.3111, 9.3214, 10.3313
tɛõk 9.3214
tɛõt 9.3214
tɛõbilak 9.3111
tɛõr 3.5211, 9.3214, 10.34
tɛõre 9.3214
tɛõlɔi 9.3214
tɛõlok 8.4514, 9.3111
tɛkela 2.3231
tɛt 8.3212
tɛ̃tek 8.3212
tɛteli 3.22, 3.43
tɛz 8.2235
tɛzal 8.2235
tɛma 3.6412
tɛne 8.3212
tɛnekɔi 8.3212
tɛnekua 8.3223
tɛnekuakɔi 8.3223
tɛnɦɒle 10.32
tɛnte 3.6412
tɛŋesi 8.2229
tɛŋɛra 8.2228
tɛŋa 8.2228, 8.2229
tɛŋɒr 8.2228, 8.2235
tɛŋɒrali 8.2235, 8.2228, 8.2250
tɛŋɔri 8.2228
tɛra 4.1210
tɛ̃rɒ 4.1210
tɛl 3.22, 8.2249
tɛlɛka 3.43
tai 8.3212, 9.2113, 9.3111, 9.3214, 10.3312
taik 9.3214
tait 9.3214
taiɦɒ̃t 8.4512, 9.3111
tair 9.3214
taire 9.3214
tailɔi 9.3214
taɔi 8.2233
taoa 3.47
tak 8.3212, 9.3214, 10.32
tat 2.1211, 8.3212, 9.3214
tapɔli 2.3221
taskhɒndɒt 10.41, 10.42
taɦader 10.34
taɦani 8.3212
taɦanir 8.3212
tamol 2.3221
tantrik 2.3221
taŋkhu 1.3212
tar 3.44, 8.2221, 8.23, 8.252114, 8.252122, 8.3212, 9.3214
tãr 8.252114
tarikhe 4.2313, 5.2213, 9.2113
tare 9.3214
tarɒɦ 8.2221
tarkik 2.3231
tãrdal 8.4317
tal 2.1211
talɔi 8.3212, 9.3214
talo 10.3312

tɒe 5.2340, 8.3212, 9.3111, 9.3214
tɒkɒsa 8.2229
tɒktɒka 8.2411
tɒk ɳɒtɒka 8.252313
tɒttɒ 2.45
tɒtpɒr 2.3221
tɒthapi 2.3221
tɒp 2.3221
tɒpɒsja 10.3112
tɒbɒla 2.45
tɒbla 2.45
tɒɦɔ̃t 9.3111
tɒɦɔ̃tei 10.3313
tɒɳɒɦ 8.2221
tɒɳɔkial 8.2248
tɒr 8.2237, 8.226213, 8.23, 8.252111, 8.252122
tɒra 8.226213
tɒraŋ 8.2237
tɒrɒp 3.45
tɒrɒɳi 2.3270
tɒl 8.2244, 8.252122
tɒlɒka 3.45
tɒlɔtia 2.3221, 3.45
tɔu 3.46, 7.2218
tɔt 1.3211, 2.3221, 8.3212
tɔr 8.3212
tɔrun 2.3221
tɔlisa 8.2244
tɔlɔi 8.3212
tɔlɔu gɦɔtɔu 8.2416
tɔk 8.3212, 9.3214
tɔt 9.3214
tɔtɔra 2.3221
tɔp 2.3211
tɔpɒni 2.3211, 8.226217
tɔpɒnia 8.2248, 8.226217
tɔmak 8.3212, 8.3234, 9.3214, 10.32
tɔmat 8.3212, 9.3214
tɔmar 5.2224, 8.3214, 9.3214
tɔmare 9.3214
tɔmalɔi 8.3212, 9.3214
tɔmalɔk 8.3212, 8.4514, 9.3111
tɔmalɔke 9.2112
tɔr 8.3212, 9.3214
tɔre 9.3214
tɔl 8.2227
tɔlɒnia 8.2227
tɔlɔtha 3.47, 8.2232
tukura 8.2228
tutɔkia 2.3221
tutua 8.2411
tuɦ 3.6416
tumi 5.2320, 5.2330, 8.3212, 8.4514, 9.2113, 9.3111, 9.3214
tula 3.48
tulɒna 10.3311
tuluŋ 8.2237
tuluŋa 8.2237
tuluŋ tupuŋ 8.2416
tuluŋ bɦutuŋ 8.2413, 8.2416
tripti 2.45
tribɦubɒn 2.3221
trin 3.32
tran 2.3221, 2.3270, 2.45, 3.32
treta 2.3221, 3.32
truti 3.32
tjag 2.3221, 2.3282, 2.45
tjɒktɒ 2.3221

th

thiɒɦɔi 10.34
thiɔi 3.5211
thik 3.3222, 8.252123
thiti 8.252211
thir 8.2227
thiraŋ 8.2237
thetuɔi 2.3222
thɛk 2.3222
thɛkɛs 8.2229
thɛkɛsa 8.2229, 8.2246
thɛkɛsɒni 8.2229
thɛtɛla 8.23
thɛtal 8.23

thɛrɛʃ 8.2221
thɛrɛʃa 8.2221
th it 3.6413
thak 2.1211, 9.1213. 9.17
thake 5.2213
thappɒr 2.3211, 2.45
tham 8.2222
than 2.3222, 8.252110, 8.252116, 8.252121
thal 2.1211
thɒ 6.22
thɒɒ 3.5210, 6.22
thɒõei 3.5212
thɒɒɒ 6.22
thɒɒk 9.131410
thɒg 8.2253, 8.226214, 8.226216
thɒga 8.226214
thɒgoa 8.226216
thɒgbazi 8.2253
thɒmɒk 8.2222
thɒn 8.252123
thɒr 2.3222, 8.2221, 8.2237
thɒrɒŋa 8.2237
thɔisa 9.2113
thɔila 3.5210
thɔbɔ 6.22
thɔlua 2.3222
thɔk 2.3222
thõt 8.2228
thu 2.3222
thukus 8.2229
thukusɒni 8.2251
thutɔri 2.3222, 8.2228
thutkuri 8.2259
thuburia 8.2228

d

di 5.2221, 5.2223, 6.24, 8.2227, 8.252311, 9.1212, 9.16
diise 6.24
die 3.5211
diei 3.5211
dieo 3.5211
diɛk 3.5210
dia 9.2110, 9.2113
diaõ 3.5211
diaõta 3.5211
dip 9.1313
dipe 3.5211
dipo 3.5211
dipk 9.131410
dipti 3.31, 6.22, 8.2243, 8.2251
dipn 8.2227
diõ 3.24
diõei 3.5212
dioa 3.24, 6.25
diõta 3.5211, 8.2243
diua 6.25
dik 3.41
diggɒz 2.45
digʃ 2.3234
digʃpl 8.2224
dip 2.3211
diphu 2.3212
dibɒ 10.3313
dibjɒ 2.3213
dise 6.24
din 2.3223, 8.2230, 8.2231, 8.252124
dinɒta 8.2231
dintia 8.2230, 3.2249
diŋi 2.3253
dilɒt 10.3112, 10.4111
de 8.2227
deɔlia 3.5210
deona 8.2227
deu 3.48, 3.5210
deue 3.48
deuk 3.5210
deuti 3.48
deuta 3.48, 3.5210
deutaʃɒt 8.42
deuri 3.6411

dekeri 8.2228
dekhi 9.1321, 9.1410
dekhisilaue 9.2112
dekhon 3.22
dekhua 6.21
dekhuaõta 3.47
dekhuoa 3.24, 3.5210
dekhuua 3.24, 3.5210
deb 2.3213
debɒta 9.2115
dex 2.3223, 2.3243, 8.252115
dexi 8.252115
dexasar 3.42
dexkhɒn 8.4315
dɛo 3.47
dɛoe 3.47
dɛoai 3.5212
dɛona 3.6412
dɛka 3.6412, 8.2257
dɛkagiri 8.2256
dɛkh 6.21, 8.2227, 8.2240
dɛkhɒniar 8.2227, 8.2240
dɛkhon 3.22
dai 6.24
daii 3.41, 3.5211, 6.24
dail 3.44
daɒr 3.5210
daɔria 3.5210
daoɔria 3.5210
dauk 3.48
dak 8.2235
dakoal 8.2235
daku 6.25, 8.2231
daktɒrkhana 8.2257
dag 8.2253
dagi 8.2253
daggari 6.31
daggɦɒr 6.31
dãt 2.1211, 6.25
dãti 6.25, 8.2235
dãtial 8.2235
dãtiɔlia 6.26
dada 8.4512
dadabilak 8.4511, 8.4512
dadabor 8.4511, 8.4512
dadaɦ̃ɒt 8.4512
dabi 6.25, 8.226217
dax 2.3223
daŋ 8.252122
daŋɒr 9.2115
dãr 2.3270
dari 10.34
dara 9.2114, 9.3213
darɒka 2.3281
dal 2.1211
dɒea 3.42, 8.2235, 8.252123
dɒealu 8.2235, 8.2247
dɒekkhɒta 2.45
dɒkait 6.25, 8.2231
dɒkaiti 3.5210, 8.2231, 8.2250
dɒkhɒl 8.252114
dɒgabaz 8.2253
dɒgdɦɒ 2.45
dɒtua 6.25
dɒdai 9.2211
dɒdak 9.2214
dɒdar 9.2212, 9.2213
dɒphɒla 2.3212
dɒɦ 2.3223, 8.4313
dɒ̃ɦesia 8.2229
dɒɦota 8.4313
dɒudɦuri 8.2240
dɒudɦura 8.2240
dɒre 9.2114
dɒra 3.45
dɒrɒkh 1.3212
dɒrɒx 1.3212
dɒrpɒ 2.3211, 2.45
dɒrxɒn 2.45
dɒlɒŋkhɒnar 5.2221, 5.2223
dɔi 3.41, 7.2218
dɔinik 4.1212
dɔur 3.5210, 7.2220
dɔurile 9.131411
dɔure 9.2111

dɔbia 6.25, 8.226217
dɔl 2.3223
dɔ̃ 3.6415
doan 3.5210
dokan 2.3223
dop 8.226217
dopɒr 6.23
dox 8.2249
dom 3.6415, 8.2226
don 3.6415
doŋ 3.6415
dol 8.2227, 8.252113, 8.252117
dui 3.6416
duio 3.41
duar 2.3281
duɔri 3.6416
dukkhɒ 2.45
dugɒraki 8.4312
dut 2.3223
duti 8.4314
dutɔrɔpia 2.3211
dudal 8.4317
dupia 8.226217
dupɔria 6.23
duxaxɒn 2.3244
duɦkhɒ 2.45
duɦxaxɒn 2.3244, 2.45
duɦxɒɦɒ 2.45
dumuni 8.2226
dur 8.252124
durnam 2.45
durlɒbɦ 2.3214, 2.3260, 2.45
drisjɒ 2.45
dram 2.3223
drɒbjɒ 2.3223, 2.45
droɦ 2.3244
dronɒ 2.3223
dwara 2.45
dwarɒka 2.3281

dɦ

dɦitiŋa 2.3224, 2.3253, 8.2237
dɦitiŋali 8.2237
dɦindɔu 8.2253
dɦir 8.252211
dɦepesi 8.2228, 8.2252
dɦet 2.3221
dɦemelia 6.21
dɦer 2.3224, 2.3270
dɦɛpɛsa 8.2228
dɦɛmelia 6.21
dɦɛmali 1.3224, 6.21
dɦa 8.2260, 8.252122
dɦak 2.1211, 8.2227
dɦakɒn 8.2227
dɦakur 8.2259
dɦakka 2.3231, 2.45
dɦakna 8,2227
dɦatu 8.252122
dɦappa 2.45, 8.2253
dɦappabazi 8.2253
dɦan 2.3224, 7.2219, 8.2225
dɦanɒni 8.2225
dɦantɔli 8.2261
dɦar 6,25
dɦardɦur 8.2414
dɦarmik 2.3251
dɦal 2.1211
dɦɒpat 1.3212, 3.45
dɦɒn 8.2234, 8.2249, 8.252118
dɦɒni 6.22, 8.2249, 8.252118
dɦɒnik 8.2234
dɦɒneo 3.5210
dɦɒnɒban 8.2260
dɦɒnɒbɒntɒ 8.2260
dɦɒnɒntɔri 4.14
dɦɒnu 3.23
dɦɒrɒni 2.3224
dɦɒrmɒ 2.45
dɦɒrmɒr 10.34
dɦɒr nɒphɒra 8.252313

dɦɒlɒŋ dɦɒppɒŋ 8.2416
dɦɒlɒŋ pɒlɒŋ 8.2413
dɦɔu 3.48, 7.2218
dɦɔuei 3.5212
dɦɔua 7.2218
dɦɔni 6.22
dɦɔnu 3.23
dɦɔrua 2.3224, 3 5210, 6.25
dɦɔruae 3.5210
dɦɔne 3.5211
dɦɔnk 9.131410
dɦɔd 2.3223
dɦɔl 2.3224
dɦukal 10.41, 10.42
dɦuti 2.3224
dɦupus 8.2229
dɦuburite 10.34
dɦumuɦa 2.3224
dɦumdɦam 8.2414
dɦrubɒ 2.45
dɦjan 2.3224, 2.45

P

pi 7.2214, 9.1212, 9.1213, 9.1214
piise 6.24
pine 3.5211
pinn 3.41, 3.5210
pioa 3.47
pik 3.41, 8.2254
pikdani 8.2254
pit 8.2222
pitik 8.2222
pitika 8.2222
pita 8.2253, 9.2211
pitai 9.2211
pitak 9.2214
pitar 9.2212
pitara 9.2213
pitɔu 8.2243
pittɒ 3.41
pitri 2.3221
pith 2.3222
pithi 2.3211
pis 8.226218
pise 4.1210, 4.14, 6.24
pisua 8.2247, 8.226218
piu 2.3211
pindɒ 4.1211
pindɦe 4.1211
pindɦɒ 4.1211
peti 6.21
petu 2.3211, 3.1312, 6.21
peɦi 2.3211, 9.2211
peɦiek 9.2214
peɦier 9.2212
peɦiere 9.2213
pensil 8.3213
pensildal 8.4317
pet 2.3211, 2.3221, 3.22, 6.21, 8.2235
petal 8.2235
peɦa 8 2246, 9.2211
pẽɲti 2.45, 8.2230
peɲta 8.2230
pẽrẽɲɒni 8.2225, 8.2237
pera 2.3211
perpera 8.226212
pẽloa 3.47
pa 6.25, 8.2227, 8.252312
pai 10.4111
paiei 3.5212
paio 3.5211
paikhana 8.2257
pae 10.3112, 10.4111
pano 3.5211
paona 3.5210
pak 6.31, 8.252112
pakɒr 8.252121
pakɔit 8.2231
pakxala 8.31
paguri 2.3211
pagul 8.252121
paggɦɒr 6.31

pat 2.1211, 2.3211, 7.2219, 8.2221
patiki 1.3212
patila 8.2241
patal 2.3221
patalɒlɔi 10.3112, 10.4111
patɒl 8.2224
patki 1.3212
patkhila 8.4321
patrɒ 8.2241
path 9.2130
pathjɒ 2.3222, 2.45
padura 6.25
papik 2.3211
pas 3.6413
pãs 3.6413
pase 2.3241
paɦ 8.2235
paɦi 8.2235
paɦɒr 8.252121
paɦual 8.2235
pan 7.2219
pani 6.25, 9.2110
panibilak 8.4510
panibor 8.4510
panir 9.2150
pankhila 8.4321
paŋ 8.252115
paŋkha 2.45
par 8.23, 8.252312, 9.16
pari 9.1321
parɒ 2.3270, 3.45, 4.1210, 4.14
part 2.3221
parthibɒ 2.3222
parthɒ 2.3222
parsi 2.3241, 2.45
pal 2.1211, 6.25, 8.2223
palika 8.2223
paliba 6.25
palɒk 8.2223
palɒt 8.252121
palõ 10.3311
pɒka 8.2231
pɒkhal 8.252112
pɒgɦa 8.252121
pɒt 3.1311
pɒtan 2.3211
pɒtɔɦia 8.2221
pɒtni 2.3221, 2.45
pɒtha 6.22, 8.226217
pɒthai 10.3112, 10.4111
pɒthaõ 6.22
pɒthan 8.252121
pɒthar 6.25
pɒthali 2.3211, 8.252121
pɒthɔrua 6.25
pɒthjɒ 2.3222
pɒdagɦat 10.34
pɒdmini 2.45
pɒdmɒ 2.3251
pɒdjɒ 2.3223
pɒzal 8.252121
pɒnia 6.25
pɒnsas 8.252212
pɒnsɒm 2.45, 3.6414
pɒr 8.23
pɒra 4.2313, 8.252312, 8.3212, 8.3214, 9.2150, 9.3213
pɒrai 5.2221, 5.2223
pɒrda 2.3223, 2.3270, 2.45
pɒrbɒ 2.45
pɒrbɒt 2.3213, 2.45
pɒrɦ 2.45, 6.24, 8.2227, 8.226215, 8.252311, 9.1213, 9.1214
pɒrɦa 6.25, 8.2246, 8.226215, 8.252311
pɒɦaiti 8.2243
pɒrɦae 3.5210, 9.2130
pɒrɦabɒlɔi 6.22
pɒrɦɒk 9.131410
pɒrɦɒ̃ti 8.2243
pɒrɦɒu 8.2227
pɒrɦoa 6.25, 8.226216
pɒrɦooa 3.5210

pɒrɦõta 8.2243
pɒla 8.2228
pɒlɒm 3.45, 8.252121
pɒlɔria 3.23, 8.2228
pɔinɒt 8.252110
pɔkhilabilak 5.2212, 5.2221, 5.2222, 5.2224, 5.2320
pɔtu 2.3211, 3.1313
pɔthia 6.22, 8.226217
pɔdum 2.3223
pɔduli 2.3223
pɔbitrɒ 10.3311
pɔndite 9.2111
pɔri 10.3311
pɔrialbilak 8.4510
pɔrialbor 8.4510
pɔrisil 9.131420
pɔriskar 2.45
pɔril 9.131420, 10.3312
pɔrua 3.48
pɔruao 3.5211
pɔrɦi 9.1410
pɔrɦibɒ 9.131420
pɔrɦisil 9.131420
pɔrɦisili 9.1313
pɔrɦise 9.131420
pɔrɦisɒ 9.1313
pɔrɦisõ 10.4111
pɔrɦim 9.1311
pɔrɦile 9.131420
pɔrɦilõ 9.1311, 9.2110, 10.32, 10.4112
pɔrɦua 9.1212
pɔlɔria 3.23
po 8.2233
poa 6.25, 8.252312
poali 3.47
pok 2.3211, 2.3231
potaɽ 8.2233
potɒ 8.2233
posjɒ 3.32
poɦɒr 2.3211
poɦpal 10.3313
pon 2.3211
pondɦ 2.45
porɒni 3.47
pua 9.1213
puate 9.1213
pũɔti 3.5210
pukhurit 9.2111, 9.2115
putɛk 3.43, 8.4313
putɛkɒk 9.2112
putɛkto 8.4313
putɔu 8.2252
putuu 3.48
putrɒ 2.3221
puthi 2.3222
pub 2.3211
puspɒ 2.3241, 2.45
puza 9.2112
puzjɒ 2.3242
puɦ 2.3244
punjɒ 2.3252, 3.32
puŋ 2.3211
pur 8.2232
purɒth 6.22
purɒn 3.45
purɔthi 6.22
purɔni 3.48, 9.2114
puruxali 8.2235
puruɦitere 9.2114
puruɦitali 4.14
purnima 2.3252
purnɒ 2.3270
priti 3.32
pret 3.32
prem 2.45
pran 2.45
prani 2.3270
prarthɒna 2.3222
prɒkop 2.3211
prɒtap 3.32
prɒtarɒna 10.43

prɒdɦan 10.41, 10.42
prɒbad 2.3223
prɒbodɦ 2.3224
prɒbɦat 2.3214
prɒsuɒ 2.3252, 2.45, 9.2112
prɒɦlad 2.3244, 2.45
prɒmod 2.3223
prɔtima 3.32
plabɒn 2.45

ph

phitaɦi 2.3214, 8.2221
phitphat 8.2221, 8.2414
phisik 8.2222
phisa 2.3212
phiriŋɔti 8.2231, 8.2250
phekur 2.3212, 8.2259
phel 2.3212
phẽsa 2.3212
phɛskuri 8.2259
phɛn 2.3252, 8.2222
phɛnɛk 8.2222
phẽrẽŋɒni 8.2225, 8.2237, 8.2250
phaki 2.3212, 8.2253
phakibaz 8.2253
phat 2.1211
phand 8.2223
phal 2.1211, 8.252110
phali 1.3212
phalgun 2.45
phɒni 6.22
phɒndi 8.2223
phɒndipk 8.2223
phɒrdi 2.45
phɒl 2.3212, 7.2219, 8.252123
phɒlgu 2.45
phɔkir 2.3212
phɔni 6.22
phokar 8.2239
phot 2.3212
phõsphõs 8.2411
phõsphõsa 8.2411
phukɒn 8.2226
phukɒnɒni 5.2320, 5.2330, 8.2226
phukɒnɒnie 3.41, 3.5210, 4.14
phukɒnbilak 8.4510
phukɒnbor 8.4510
phut 8.2241, 8.252110, 9.1213
phutil 8.2241, 9.1213
phuta 8.252110
phutuki 2.3212
phusphas 8.2414
phusphus 8.2411
phusphusa 8.2411
phurise 5.2221
phul 7.2219, 8.2225, 8.2236, 8.2254
phule phule 5.2221
phulam 8.2236
phulɒni 2.3212, 8.2225
phulto 8.4317
phuldani 8.2254

b

bia 8.252110
biɒp 8.252115
biɒl 8.252115
biɔi 3.5211
biɔli 3.5210
bikax 3.44
bikɒta 8.252115
bikri 2.45
bikrɒm 2.3231, 2.3270, 3.32
bikhjat 2.3232, 2.45
bigɒr 8.252115, 8.252116
bigrɒɦ 2.3233, 2.45
bigjan 2.3233, 2.45
bigjɒ 2.3233
bigɦini 2.1212, 2.3234
bigɦɒɒ 2.3234, 2.45
bitopɒɒ 2.1212, 2.3211
bidex 2.3223
bidexi 8.252115
bidar 8.23, 8.252115
bidɒgdɦɒ 2.45
bidɒr 8.23, 8.252115
bidrup 2.3223

bidja 2.3223, 2.45
bidjarɒtnɒr 10.34
bidjut 8.3223
bidɦi 2.3224
bidɦuti 2.3224
bipak 2.3211, 2.3231
bipaŋ 8.252115
bipɒkhje 10.34
bipul 2.1212, 2.3211
bipra 2.3211, 2.45
biplɒb 2.45
biphɒl 2.3212
bibidɦ 2.3224
bibek 2.3231
bibaɦ 2.1212
bibudɦi 8.252115
bibriti 2.45
bibɦa 2.3214
bibɦor 2.3214
bibɦuti 2.3214
bibɦrɒm 2.3214
bis 3.1311, 8.252212
bisat 8.252122
bisar 3.35, 8.252211, 8 252311
bisarisilõ 9.1311
bispni 2.1212
bisɒr 8.252115
bisphurɒn 2.3241
bissax 10.43
bissɒ 2.3281, 2.45
bissɒbidjalɒer 10.41
bismɒe 2.3251
bismriti 2.45
bisnu 2.3252, 2.45
bisnuk 9.2112
bisnur 10.3112
bisri 2.3241
bisram 2.3241, 2.45
bislexɒn 2.3241, 2.3260, 2.45
biswax 2.45
biswɒ 2.3281
biz 2.3242, 8.2224
bizanu 2.1212
bizɒe 8.2510
bizɒeini 8.2510
bizɒl 8.2224
bizuli 2.3242
bix 2.3243
bixex 2.3243
bixal 2.1212, 2.3243
biɦ 2.3244
biɦit 2.3244
biɦin 8.252115
biɦar 2.1212
biman 2.3213, 3.41, 8.252115
binax 8.252115
bindɦ 7.2221
bindɦjɒ 2.3224
binjax 2.3252, 2.45
biri 2.1212
biriŋ 8.2237
birendrɒ 2.3270
biraz 8.2310, 8.252115
birɒs 8.252115
birɔɦi 2.3244
birzzɒ 2.3242
bil 3.1311
bili 2.1212
bilai 8.2233, 8.252115
bilat 8.2249, 8.252115
bilati 8.2249
bilap 8.252115
bilɒg 8.252110, 8.252115
bilɒm 8.252121
bilɒnia 2.3213
beain 8.252114
beti 6.21
bed 2.3223, 3.42
bedɒkhɒl 8.252114
bedɒt 3.45
bes 2.3241, 2.1311
besi 2.3241
besɒrkari 8.252114

besja 3.32
beɦus 8.252114
benam 8.2510, 8.252114
benami 8.2510
benu 2.3213, 3.6412
bel 3.1311
beli 2.3213, 6.21, 8.252110
bɛ 8.252117
bɛa 3.43, 3.5210, 3.6412
bɛ̆ai 3.5211
bɛ̃ka 3.6412
bɛgai 9.2111, 10.32
bɛgere 2.3233
bɛ̆ta 6.21
bɛtɒni 3.43
bɛpar 2.3213
bɛs 2.3241, 3.1311, 9.1214
bɛz 2.3242, 8.2235
bɛzɛra 2.3242
bɛzali 8.2235, 8.2250
bɛɦɛla 2.3244
bɛŋ 3.6412
bɛra 2.3270
bɛrɒt 9.2160
bɛl 3.1311, 3.43
bɛlɛg 8.252110, 8.252115
bɛla 6.21, 8.252110
bɛlɒg 8.252115
bɛlta 8.252115
ba 7.2214, 8.226212
baiɛk 6.24
baiu 3.5211
baiuei 3.5213
baɛ̆k 6.24
baɒna 3.47
baki 2.3231, 3.44
bakɒsɒt 9.2160
bakɔri 6.25
bakõɦ 8.252116
bakjɒ 2.3230, 2.45, 3.32
bakhɒr 8.2236
bakhɒram 8.2236
bag 6.25, 8.2244
bagisa 2.3233, 6.25
bagɒr 8.252115, 8.252116, 8.252118
bagmibɒr 2.3233
bagɦ 2.3234, 8.2226, 8.2228
bagɦini 2.3234, 8.2226
bagɦe 2.3234
bagɦɒr 2.1212
bagɦtoe 9.2110, 9.2111
bat 2.1211, 8.2228, 8.252112
bati 8.2245
batam 8.2236
batɔri 6.25, 10.4111
batɔrua 2.3213, 2.3221, 6.22, 6.25, 8.2228, 8.2246, 8.2247
baduli 2.3223
bap 8.2230
bapeki 2.3211
bapɛk 2.3211
bapɛke 9.2112
bapɛkɒlɔi 9.2113
bapɔti 8.2230
bapɔtia 6.25, 8.2230
bab 2.3213
babe 5.2221, 5.2223
babazi 2.3213
babugiri 8.2257
bas 3.1311
baz 8.2227
bazua 8.2227
bax 8.2228
baɦ 8.2228
bɒɦɒni 2.52
baɦɒr 8.2228
bãɦtɔli 8.2261
bamɒu 10.3112, 10.4111
bamunia 6.25
bamuuɒni 8.2226, 8.2251
banan 2.3252
banɒs 8.2229

bandizɒni 8.4311
bandɒrami 8.2236
bandɒrto 8.4313
bandɦ 7.2221, 8.2223
bandɦɒ 4.1211
ban rɒza 10.3112, 10.4111
bar 2.52, 8.252118
barɒ 4.1210, 4.14
baru 10.32
barta 2.3270, 2.45
barxik 2.3231, 2.3243, 3.41
barɦ 2.52
barɦɒni 2.52
barɦɒnitãr 8.4325
barɦɔik 3.41
barli 2.3260
bal 2.1211, 3.1211
bali 6.26
balia 6.26
balika 6.26, 8.2223, 8.2245
balɒk 8.2223
balti 2.45, 4.14
balmiki 2.45
bɒ 7.2214, 8.252311, 9.16
bɒɛɒx 2.3243
bɒk 8.2230
bɒkɒta 8.252116
bɒkprani 6.25, 8.2225, 8.2228
bɒkɒlɒm 8.252116
bɒko 3.23, 3.45
bɒkta 2.3231, 2.45, 8.2230
bɒktrita 10.34
bɒktritar 10.34
bɒkhan 8.252116
bɒkhɒl 8.252116
bɒkholia 8.252116, 8.3282
bɒg 8.2224
bɒga 8.2224, 8.2246
bɒgai 5.2221
bɒgɔli 2.3233, 8.2224, 8.2251
bɒgɦɒra 8.2228, 8.2246
bɒgɦɒrali 8.2235
bɒtaɦ 2.3244, 9.2110
bɒtɒr 8.252110
bɒtɒra 2.3221, 6.25
bɒtɔɦu 8.2221
bɒtsɒ 2.45
bɒdɒl 8.252116
bɒdɒla 8.252116
bɒdɔli 8.252116
bɒdɦ 2.3224
bɒpai 6.25, 8.2233
bɒsɛra 8.252116
bɒsjɒta 2.45
bɒzar 2.3242
bɒzrɒ 2.3242, 2.45
bɒɦ 6.22, 8.226218
bɒɦa 6.22
bɒɦɒl 8.252116
bɒɦɒla 8.252116
bɒhõ 6.22
bɒnni 2.45
bɒn 6.22, 8.2225, 8.2249
bɒnia 2.3282
bɒnik 8.2234
bɒniz 8.2249
bɒna 8.2229
bɒnɒni 8.2225
bɒnɔri 8.2228
bɒnɔria 3.23, 8.2228, 8.2249
bɒnjɒ 2.3282
bɒndɦ 8.2223
bɒndɦɒ 4.1211
bɒndɦɔki 8.2223
bɒndɦja 2.45
bɒŋal 8.2235
bɒŋɒɦ 2.3244
bɒŋɒla 8.2235
bɒŋɔlua 6.25
bɒŋgal 8.2235
bɒŋgɒ 8.2235
bɒŋsidɦɒr 2.45

bɒŋxidɦɒr 2.45
bɒŋxɒ 2.45
bɒr 8.2233
bɒra 8.2226
bɒrai 8.2233
bɒrani 8.2246, 8.2251
bɒrɒph 2.3212
bɒrɒn 2.3213
bɒrɒnip 2.3282
bɒroda 3.6415
bɒrgɒ 2.45
bɒrtɒman 2.3221, 2.45
bɒrtulakar 2.3221
bɒrdɦitɒ 2.2324, 2.45
bɒrzɒn 2.45
bɒrzzɒn 2.3242
bɒrxa 2.3243
bɒrnɒ 2.3252
bɒrnɒna 2.45
bɒl 3.1311, 8.252123
bɒlɔdɦi 2.45
bɒlo 3.23
bɒloe 3.47, 3.5210
bɒloei 3.5211
bɒldɦi 2.45
bɔithɒkkhana 8.2257
bɔinai 9.2212
bɔinaɛk 9.2215
bɔinaiɛr 9.2213
bɔinaɛke 4.1212
bɔisnɒb 2.3252
bɔirag 4.1212
bɔko 3.23
bɔkhɔliaõ 3.6415
bɔtia 8.2249
bɔthapat 8.4319
bɔsjɒ 3.32
bɔɦi 9.1410, 10.32, 10.4112
bɔɦag 3.46
bɔɦua 6.22, 8.2247, 8.226218
bɔɦuoa 6.25
bɔɦuua 6.25
bɔnik 8.2249
bɔnɔria 3.23
bɔnua 6.22
bɔndɦuxɒkɒl 8.4514
bɔri 8.2225
bɔruae 3.5210
bɔruak 9.2112
bɔruaɦɒ̃t 8.4511
bɔruaɦɒ̃tɒr 9.2114
bɔrualɔi 9.2113
bɔruani 8.2246, 8.2247, 8.2251
bɔl 3.1311, 3.46, 9.17
bɔlia 2.3213, 10.34
bɔlik 10.3112, 10.4111
bɔla 9.17
bɔlɒk 9.17
bɔlo 3.23
boa 8.252311
boɔti 3.5210
boka 2.3213
bokosa 8.2229
bodɦ 8.2223
bopai 8.2230
bopaɦɒ̃t 8.4511
boza 2.3242
bozai 8.2233
bonda 4.1211
bol 3.1311
buke 10.34
buku 2.3231, 3.1313, 8.2230, 8.2247
bukut 5.2221, 5.2223
bukuta 8.2230
buti 2.3213
buddɦi 2.45
buddɦiman 2.3223, 8.2260
bu[illegible] [illegible]

buddɦɒ 2.3223
budbar 6.33
budɦ 2.3224
budɦi 8.2223, 8.252115
budɦiɒk 2.3224, 8.2223, 8.2248
buz 8.2227, 8 .252211
buzi 9.1321, 9.1410
buzɒɒ 8.2227
buzɒɒi 8.252211
buniadi 2.3213
bur 5.12, 8.252122
bura 2.52
burɦi 2.45
burɦa 2.52
burɦai 10.3313
bul 3.1311
buli 4.2313, 5.2213
bristi 8.252211
brɒɦma 2.3270, 2.45
brɒɦmɒputrɒ 2.45
bjagɦirɒ 2.3234, 2.45
bjadɦi 2.45
bjapti 2.45
bjɒe 2.45
bjɒrthɒ 2.45

bɦ

bɦikɔɦu 6.22, 8.2221, 8.2247
bɦikhari 2.3214
bɦikhja 8.2221, 8.2247
bɦitɒr 2.3214
bɦinihi 3.1312, 3.41, 4.14
bɦekutkut 8.2415
bɦekur 8.2259
bɦekuri 8.2259
bɦekuli 6.21, 6.23, 8.2224
bɦed 2.3214
bɦedabɦed 3.44
bɦeɲusia 8.2229
bɦeɲusali 8.2229
bɦelɔɦu 6.21
bɦek 8.2251
bɦekola 3.43, 6.21, 8.2224, 8.2247, 8.2251
bɦel 2.3214
bɦeleɲi 8.2237, 8.2251
bhelēɲa 8.2237
bɦelɔhu 6.24
bɦai 6.24
bɦaiek 6.24
bɦaiti 8.4314
bɦaek 6.24
bɦaēkdal 8.4317
bɦao 6.25, 8.2227
bɦaona 3.47, 3.5210, 6.25, 8.22227
bɦag 8.2227
bɦagɒr 8.2227
bɦagjɒban 8.2260
bɦagjɒbɒutɒ 8.2260
bɦat 2.1211, 2.3214, 6.25
bɦatiali 3.41, 8.2235, 8.2248
bɦab 8.2234, 8.2247
bɦabee 3.5210
bɦabuk 8.2234, 8.2247
bɦabuki 8 2234, 8.2247
bɦaz 8.252118
bɦãz 8.252118
bɦazɒui 2.3242
bɦaɲuri 8.2240
bɦarɒtɒr 10.41, 10.42
bɦal 2.1211, 5.2212, 5.2224, 5.2320, 8.2228
bɦale bɦale 9.2111
bɦalere 9.2111

bɦalɒr 3.44
bɦalɔri 8.2228, 8.2250
bɦalkɔi 10.3311
bɦaldal 8.4317
bɦalbilak 8.4510
bɦalbor 8.4510
bɦɒe 8.252123, 8.252211
bɦɒkti 2.45
bɦɒktɒ 2.3231
bɦɒkbɦɒkɒni 8.2411
bɦɒkh 1.3210
bɦɒtɒra 8.2228
bɦɒdrɒ 2.3214, 2.3223, 2.45
bɦɒdrɒlok 2.3270
bɦɒsɔɦu 8.2221
bɦɒsmɒ 2.45
bɦɒz 8.252110
bɦɒ̃z 8.252110
bɦɒniti 8.4314
bɦɒndami 8.2236
bɦɒr 8.2230
bɦɒrti 8.2230
bɦɔtua 2.3214, 6.25
bɦɔbisjɒt 2.3241
bɦɔrire 10.34
bɦɔk 1.3210, 3.47, 8.252110
bɦɔgi 3.1312
bɦɔtoɦa 2.3244
bɦɔda 3.47
bɦɔz 2.3242
bɦomora 2.3214
bɦuku 8.2247
bɦukua 8.2247, 8.226218
bɦugi 3.1312
bɦutuŋ 8.2237
bɦutkuri 8.2259
bɦubɒu 2.3214
bɦusuŋ 8.2237
bɦurukɒni 8.2222, 8.2227
bɦritjɒ 2.45
bɦrɒm 2.45
bɦrukuti 2.3270

s

si 7.2214
si si 3.6410
sĩsĩ 3.6410
siam 2.3282
sĩɒr 3.31
sĩɔri 3.31, 3.6410, 10.34
sikitsa 2.3231, 2.3241, 2.45
sikmikɒni 8.2227
sig 2.3233
sigil 2.3233
sitik 8.2222
sitika 8.2222
sitikɒni 8.2222, 8.2227
sitikɒna 8.2227, 8.2246
sitip 8.2238
sitkar 2.45
sithi 2.3222, 9.2113, 10.41
sidir 2.3223, 2.45
sidrɒ 2.3223, 2.45
sipaɦi 2.3211
sipraŋ 3.32
sizil 2.3242
siɦ 7.2219
simta 2.45
sin 2.3241, 3.6410, 7.2219, 8.2234, 8.252118, 8.252311
sina 8.252118
sinaki 2.3214, 8.2234, 8.2250
sint 2.45
sinte 4.1211
sinta 2.45
siriakhana 8.2257
sila 3.35
sei 3.6411

sẽuri 3.6411
sed 2.3241
seneɦɒr 10.3311
sereli 6.21
selu 3.35
sẽo 7.2218
sɛk 3.22
sɛke 2.3231
sɛkɒni 3.43
sɛ̃kur 2.3231, 8.2259
sɛ̃kurɒni 8.2259
sɛ̃g 2.3233
sɛp 8.2246
sɛ̀pɛta 2.3211, 8.2230, 8.2246
sɛptémbɒr 2.3211
sɛ̃nɛɦ 2.3241, 2.3242
sɛ̃ŋeli 2.3253, 3.31
sɛ̃ŋɛra 8.2228
sɛreli 6.21
sɛrelia 8.2224
sɛ́rɛ̃pa 8.2238
sɛ́rɛŋa 8.2237
sɛ́rɛ̀la 6.21
sɛ́ra 8.252116
sɛlepu 8.2238
sɛlɛk 3.35, 8.2222
sɛlɛka 8.2222
sɛ́lɛŋ 2.3253, 8.2237
sɛlɛŋ pɛtɛŋ 8.2413
sa 3.6413, 8.252218
sã̃ 3.6413
sak 6.25, 8.2248
sakɒrɒni 3.35
sakɒrto 8.4313
sakɔli 8.2248
sag 2.3233, 6.22, 8.2224
sagɒl 6.22, 8.2224
sagɔli 6.22, 8.2224
sat 2.1211
satri 2.3221
satrɒk 9.2112
sapɒnɒɒ 9.2113
sapɒr 8.2228
saph 2.3212
sabbis 2.3213, 2.45
sas 2.3241
sastri 10.41, 10.42
sasthjɒ 2.3222
sam 3.6413
sami 2.3281
samra 8.2240
san 3.6413
saŋ 3.6413
sar 8.23
sarizɒni 8.4311
sart 2.3221, 2.45
sal 2.1211, 8.2227
salan 8.2227, 8.2249
salani 8.2227, 8.2249
salɒni 3.23, 8.2227
salɔni 3.23
spkɔlia 8.2248
spkɔlioai 3.5212
spkkɒr 2.3231
sptɒp 8.2238
sptpɒt 8.2413
sptpɒta 8.2413
sptpɒtɒni 8.2227, 8.2250, 8.2413
spdmɒ 2.45
spɒnɒ 2.3211, 2.45
spɦɔki 8.2223,
spmar 8.2240
spmpzdar 8.2255
spɒnɒr 9.2113
spndrɒ 2.45
spndrɒk 4.1211

sɒr 2.3281, 8.2248, 8 226213, 8.226217, 8.23, 8.252110, 8 252115, 8.252123, 8.252125
sɒra 8.226213
sɒrɒp 8.2238
sɒrɒɦ 8.2221
sɒrɒɦa 8.2221, 8 2246
sɒrɔtia 3.41
sɒrkha 2.3232
sɒrgi 2.45
sɒrgiɒ 2.3232
sɒrgɒ 2.3270
sɒrtsa 2.3241
sɒrdi 2.3223
sɒrbi 2.3213
sɒrssa 2.3241
sɒl 2.3241, 8 2221 8.2230, 8.2243, 8.252124
sɒlaõta 8.2243
sɒlaɦ 8.2221
sɒlaɦi 8.2221
sɒlɒth 8.2232
sɒlɒna 10.3112, 10.4111
sɒlɒntɒ 8.2243
sɒlti 8.2230, 8.2250
sɔuka 3.46
sɔuda 3.48
sɔk 2.3231
sɔki 8.2255
sɔkidar 8.2255
sɔkidari 8 2255
sɔku 1.3210, 2.3231
sɔkure 9.2110
sɔkhu 1.3210
sɔtia 8.252312
sɔtioa 6.25
sɔtiua 6.25
sɔti uth 8.252122
sɔtur 3.45
sɔbikhɒni 8.4316
sɔbbis 2.3213
sɔria 2.3241, 8.2248
sɔru 3.35
sɔllis 8.252212
soali 2.3281, 3.5210, 8.3214
soalikhɒu 8.4512
soaliti 8.4314
soalizɒni 8.4311
soka 2.3241
sokora 2.3231
sosa 8.252125
sosɒr 8.252125
sor 8.2226, 8.2237
soraŋ 8.2237
sorok 8.252125
sola 3.35, 8.2252
sua 2.3281
suɒr 3.5210
suɔni 3.5210
suk 2.3231
supɔɦi 8.2221, 8.2248
suburi 2.3213
suma 2.3241
sun 2.3241, 2.3252
surup 8.2238
suruni 8.2226
suli 3.35
sulikosa 8.4322
sulitãr 8.4325
sulun 8.2235, 8.2237
sulunali 8.2235, 8.2237
skɒndɦɒ 2.3241, 2.45
skul 2.45
skulɒlɔi 9.1230
skru 2.45
skhɒlɒu 2.45
stɒbdɦɒ 2.45
stɒmbɦɒ 2.3241, 2.45

stri 2.45
sthiti 8.252211
sthau 2.3241, 2.45, 8.252110, 8.252116, 8.252121
sthɔbir 2.45
spɒstɒ 2.45
spɒrx 7.2223
spɒrxɒ 2.3241, 2.45
spriŋ 2.3241, 2.45
sphɔtik 2.45
sphurɒn 2.45
smɒsruke 10.34
smɒr 7.2224
smɒrɒn 2.3251, 2.45
smriti 2.45
snigdhɒ 2.45
snehɒr 10.3311
snaiu 2.3252
snaiuei 3.5213
snau 2.3252, 2.45
sri 2.3241, 2.45, 7.2222
srikrisnɒ 9.2110
sriman 8.2260
srimɒntɒ 8.2260
sresthɒ 2.3241, 9.2115
sreni 2.3241
sraddhɒ 2.3223
srɒz 7.2224
srɒm 2.45, 8.2249
srɒmik 8.2249
slesma 2.3260
slaghɑ 2.45
sjam 2.3241, 2.3281, 2.45
sjɒmɒntɒ 2.3241
swad 2.45
swami 2.3281, 2.45
swɒr 2.3281

z

zi 8.2228, 8.2243, 8.226213 8.3214, 9.2212, 9.3111 9.3214, 10.3311
ziei 3.5211
ziɛk 3.41, 3.5210, 9.2215
ziɛr 9.2213
ziɛra 9.2214
zia 3.41, 8.226213
ziai 3.5211
ziarihɒ̃t 8.4511
ziɒo 3.5211
ziɔri 3.5210, 8.2228
zioa 8.226216
ziu 3.48, 3.5210, 3.6410
ziuei 3.5212
ziut 3.48, 3.5210
zik 8.2240
zikar 8.2239
zikarɒni 8.2227
zikaru 8.2240
zikɔi 8.3214
zikhɒn 8.3214
zito 8.3214
zib 8.252123
zibilak 8.3214, 8.4510, 9.3111
zibilake 8.3231
ziba 8.3214, 8.3225
zibɒ 8.252123
zibɒn 2.3242, 8.252110
zibɒntɒ 8.2243
zibɒ 8.3214, 8.4510, 9.3111
zisukhristɒ 2.45
zixɒkɒl 8.4514
zih 8.3214, 8.3222, 9.3120
zihe 9.3111, 9.3214
zihere 8.3222, 9.3214
zihɒk 9.3214

ziɦɒke 8.3222
ziɦɒt 9.3214
ziɦɒba 8.3222, 8.3225, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214
ziɦɒbae 9.3214
ziɦɒbak 9.3214
ziɦɒbat 9.3214
ziɦɒbar 9.3214
ziɦɒbare 9.3214
ziɦɒbalɔi 9.3214
ziɦɒr 9.3214
ziɦɒlɔi 9.3214
zin 2.3242
zira 8.2227
ziraɦ 2.3212
zirɒni 8.2227, 8.2250
zirɒnia 8.2227, 8.2246
zirɒɒ 2.3252, 2.3270
ze 8.3214, 10.3311
zei 8.3214, 9.3111, 9.3120
zeie 3.41, 9.3214
zeiei 3.5212
zetia 1 .3211, 8.3214
zetiar 8.3214
zetialɔi 8.3214
zetuka 8.2234
zethi 2.3222
zethen 1.3211
zetheri 8.2228
zed 2.3242
zeni 8.3214
zeniba 8.3214
zɛkɛra 8.2228
zɛka 2.3242
zɛtɛk 8.3214
zɛth 2.3222
zɛp 2.3211
zɛbra 2.3213
zɛn 8.3214
zɛne 8.3214
zɛnekua 8.3214, 8.3223
zɛnekuakɔi 8.3214, 8.3223
zɛ̃neba 8.3214
zɛrɛpa 8.2238
zɛ̃lailai 8.2415
za 5.2340, 7.2211, 8.226212, 8.252122, 8.252312, 9.1213, 9.16, 10.32
zaɛk 3.44, 3.5210
zauri 3.48
zak 9.3214
zake 10.43
zakɔrua 6.25
zagial 6.25, 8.2235
zagiali 8.2248, 8.2251
zagialiui 8.2226
zagialɒni 8.2226, 8.2235, 8.2248
zagiɔlia 3.5210, 6.26, 8.2235, 8.2248
zat 2.1211, 6.25, 8.2247, 8.2248, 9.3214
zati 8.2248
zatiɒ 2.3242
zatri 2.45
zatra 9.2113
zadɦɔli 8.2224
zap 5.2221, 5.2223, 8.2230
zapani 2.3211
zaba 9.2113
zabɒ 6.22
zabɒlɔi 9.2113
zabɔlɔi 6.22
zabraŋ 2.3213
zaɦaz 2.3242
zaɦara 10.34
zam 5.2213
zamadar 8.2255

ʒan 8.2227
zane 5.2310, 5.2320
zana 5.2340
zanɒni 8.2227
zanu 8.252110
zantrik 4.1211
zar 9.3214
zare 9.3214
zal 2.1211, 6.26, 8.2233, 8.23, 8.252121
zalɔi 9.3214
zaloa 6.26
zaluai 8.2233
zaluk 3.44
zɒeggɒ 2.45
zɒen 3.5210
zɒgɒr 6.22, 8.2228, 8.2247
zɒgɔria 8.2228
zɒgɔru 6.22, 8.2228, 8.2247
zɒ̃t 6.22, 8.2241
zɒ̃tia 6.22
zɒtek 8.3214
zɒtnɒ 2.45
zɒtnɒban 2.3221
zɒdɦɒla 8.2224
zɒpɔtia 8.2230
zɒbdɒ 2.3213, 2.45
zɒbbɒr 2.3213
zɒx 2.3243
zɒmmu 2.45
zɒn 8.2231, 8.252123
zɒnɒta 8.2231
zɒntrɒ 2.45
zɒnmɒ 2.3251, 2.45
zɒr 8.252118
zɒrna 8.2227
zɒl 6.22, 8.2221, 8.2243, 8.23, 8.252121
zɒlaɦ 6.22, 8.2221
zɒlɒntɒ 8.2243
zɒlɔɦu 3.23, 8.2247
zɒlɔɦua 6.22, 8.2221
zɔutuk 8.2234
zɔkhini 8.4512
zɔkhiniɦ̃t 8.4512
zɔgɔru 6.22
zɔt 1.3211
zɔtil 8.2241
zɔtua 2.3242, 6.25, 8.2247
zɔdi 10.32
zɔduɦ̃t .8.4511
zɔmi 8.2255
zɔmidar 8.2255
zɔmidari 8.2255
zɔridal 8.4317
zɔrigɒs 8.4326
zɔrip 2.3242
zɔlɔɦu 3.23
zɔlɔɦua 6.22
zoa 8.2246, 8.252312
zoai 3.5211
zõai 3.5211, 3.6415
zõair 3.5211
zoae 3.6415
zokar 8.2239
zokari 10.34
zokarɒui 8.2227
zokh 2.3232, 2.3242
zog 8.2230, 8.2235
zoga 6.25, 8.2230, 8.2235
zogan 8.2227
zogali 8.2235
zogɒnia 6.25
zogɒniar 8.2227, 8.2240
zop 8.2221
zopa 8.2221
zopoɦa 8.2221
zon 7.2215, 8.2234, 8.3214, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214

zone 8.3214
zonak 2.3242, 8.2234
zonaki 8.2234, 8.2251
zonali 8.2235
zonoali 8.2235
zonbilak 8.3214, 8.4510
zonbor 8.3214
zonzɒni 8.3214
zoŋ 2.3253, 8.2235
zor 8.252110
zoloŋa 8.2237, 8.2246
zui 3.41, 3.5210, 3.6416
zuiei 3.5212
zug 2.3233
zugini 2.3233
zugut 8.2230
zuguta 8.2230
zugmɒ 2.45
zutuli 8.2224
zutula 8.2224
zubɔtie 5.2221, 5.2223
zuburia 8.2228
zuz 2.3242, 8.2240
zunɒr 4.2313, 5.2213, 9.2113
zunuka 2.3252
zur 2.3242
zjuti 2.3242, 2.45

x

xi 4.2210, 5.2213, 8.3212, 9.3111, 9.3214, 10.32, 10.3312
xiai 3.5211
xiao 3.5211
xian 3.6410
ziar 3.6410
xĭar 3.6410, 8.2239
xial 3.5210
xiɔri 3.6410
xio 3.5210
xiu 3.24
xik· 8.226216, 8.252311
xiki 2.1212
xikim 2.3231
xikoa 8.226216
xikhɒni 8.4316
xikhja 2.3243
xikhjɒke 9.2112
xikhjɒkzɒu 8.4310
xitao 3.5210
xitau 1.3210
xitɒl 2.3243, 3.35
xithau 1.3210
xidina 2.3223
xiddɦɒ 2.3223
xibilak 8.41, 9.3111
xibɒk 10.3112, 10.4111
xibor 5.12, 8.4510, 9.3111
xisjɒ 2.3241, 2.45
xixɒkɒl 8.4514
xihɔ̃t 3.6414, 5.12, 8.3212, 8.3232, 9.3111
xihɔ̃tɒk 8.3212
xihɔ̃tɒr 8.3212
xima 2.3243, 3.6411
ximau 2.3243, 3.6410
xiŋ 2.3253, 3.6410, 8.2228
xiŋɒra 8.2228
xiŋɦini 8.2226
xiŋɦaxɒu 2.3244
xiŋɦɒ 2.45, 8.2226
xil 2.3243
xei 8.3212
xeie 10.43
xeia 3.41
xeiai 3.5212
xeigɒraki 5.2320, 5.2330, 8.3212
xeito 5.2340, 5.2350
xeizɒu 8.3212
xeuu 3.6411

xeteli 2.3221
xetu 2.3243, 3.35
xebika 8.2223, 8.2245
xebɒk 8.2223
xex 2.3243
xeɦɒtia 8.2230
xeluai 2.3243
xɛo 3.47, 3.5210
xɛoa 3.47
xɛoai 3.5212
xɛõta 3.47, 3.6113
xɛk 2.3243
xɛ̃ta 2.3243
xɛb 2.3213
xɛɦ 8.2230
xɛmɛka' 3.22
xɛne 8.3212
xɛna 3.35
xɛŋɛtai 8.2230
xɛrɛŋa 8.2237
xa 8.252122
xaun 7.2220
xauni 3.48
xak 8.2225
xakɒni 8.2225
xat 2.1211
xãtor 6.23
xatola 8.252123
xãturi 6.23
xãturise 9.2111
xãturile 9.131420
xathi 8.252212
xathɒn 8.252123
xathon 2.3222
xadin 6.32
xadinia 6.32
xadɒr 8.252123
xaddin 6.32
xaddinia 6.32
xadbar 6.32
xadɦ 2.3224
xadɦɒna 2.3243
xadɦjɒ 2.3224
xap 2.3243, 5.2350
xabɒt 8.252123
xãs 8.2230
xãsɒtiar 8.2230
xaɦ 8.252122
xamix 8.252123
xampɒr 8.2228
xamuk 3.35
xamphɒl 2.45
xantɒna 4.1211
xaŋor 8.2239
xaŋkhjɒ 2.45
xar 6.25
xarɒthi 8.2510, 8.252123
xarua 6.26
xal 2.1211
xɒ 8.252212
xɒɛɒn 3.42
xɒekia 3.42, 8.2226
xɒekiani 8.2226
xɒebbɦɒta 2.45
xɒ̃kia 3.23
xɒkam 2.3243, 8.252123
xɒkɒt 2.3221
xɒkɒloe 5.2310, 5.2320
xɒkti 2.45
xɒgɦɒn 8.252123
xɒgɦɒne 9.2111
xɒtabdi 2.3213, 2.45
xɒtaɦ 8.2221
xɒtaɦi 8.2221
xɒtjɒ 2.3221, 2.45
xɒdɒe 5.2213
xɒdgɒti 2.45
xɒdrix 8.252123

xɒptaɦ 2.3211, 2.45
xɒphɒl 8.252123
xɒbɒl 8.252123
xɒbdɒ 2.3213, 2.45
xɒbɦate 10.34
xɒbɦɒe 8.252123
xɒbɦjɒ 2.3214, 2.45
xɒ̃sa 3.6414
xɒsɔkit 2.3221
xɒsta 2.3241, 2.45
xɒstrik 8.252123
xɒz 2.3242
xɒzɒn 8.252123
xɒzɒl 8.252123
xɒzzɒn 2.3242
xɒzjɒ 2.3242, 2.45
xɒɦãi 1.3211
xɒɦẽ 1.3210
xɒɦɒzog 2.3233
xɒmɒe 9.2113, 10.4111
xɒmɒent 10.4112
xɒmazik 2.3231
xɒmazɒr 5.2221, 5.2223
xɒmpadika 8.2223, 8.2245
xɒmpadɒk 8.2223
xɒmpɒd 2.45
xɒmpɔtti 2.45
xɒmprɔti 2.3270, 2.45
xɒmbɒl 2.45
xɒmbɦed 2 3223
xɒmbɦabjɒ 2.45
xɒmbɦu 2.45
xɒmbɦrɒm 2.3214, 2.45
xɒnaɦi 8.2221
xɒntan 2.45
xɒntap 2.3211
xɒntox 2.3243
xɒntrax 2.3221, 2.45
xɒntha 2.45
xɒndɛɦ 2.3244
xɒndɦia 2.45
xɒndɦja 2.3224, 2.45, 3.32
xɒnsɒe 2.6414
xɒnzɒe 2.45
xɒnmɔti 2.45
xɒŋɒskrit 2.46
xɒŋkɛ̃t 3.22, 3.43
xɒŋka 2.45
xɒŋkranti 3.32
xɒŋkhɒ 2.45
xɒŋkhja 2.45
xɒŋgi 2.3253, 2.45
xɒŋgit 3.41
xɒŋgrɒɦ 2.3233
xɒŋgja 2.3233, 2.45
xɒŋghɒ 2.45
xɒŋzɒm 2.45
xɒŋɦɔti 2.45
xɒr 8.2222
xɒrɒk 8.2222
xɒrɒɦ 2.3244
xɒrɒl 8.2231
xɒrɒlɒta 8.2231
xɒrgɒ 2.3233
xɒrbessɒr 4.14
xɔi karɦ 8.252110
xɔite 9.2114, 9.3213
xɔinik 3.41
xɔinikɒr 4.1212
xɔu 8.3212
xɔua 8.3212
xɔuka 3.5210
xɔukhɒn 8.3212
xɔuto 8.3212
xɔupat 8.4319
xɔus 7.2220
xɔuzɒn 8.3212

xɔurɒbɦ 2.3214
xɔkhi 2.1212, 8.2231
xɔturu 2.3221
xɔttɔr 8.252212
xɔtru 2.3221
xɔthik 8.252123
xɔdɔu 8.2252
xɔsib 2.3213
xɔzib 8.252123
xɔɦisɨu 2.3252
xɔmuɦ 3.35
xɔril 10.3312
xɔru 2.3243, 9.2115
xɔrue 3.5210
xɔruei 3.5211
xɔlitagɒs 8.4326
xo 3.6415, 6.23, 7.2214, 9.1212
xõ 3.6415
xoe 3.47, 3.5210
xoei 3.5211
xoad 10.3311
xoɒe 3.5211
xoɒk 9.131410
xoɒn 3.47, 3.5210
xoɒni 3.47, 3.5210
xõɒr 6.23, 8.252123
xõɒrɒni 8.252123
xoɔni 3.5210
xoõ 9.1311
xoõta 3.47
xokota 8.2230
xotora 8.2228
xodɦɒn 2.3224
xõsɒr 8.252123, 8.252125
xõxɔrir 8.252123
xon 2.3243, 3.6415, 8.2235, 8.2240
xonit 3.24
xonitpur 10.3112, 10.4111
xonari 8.2240, 8.2249
xonarit 9.2115
xonali 8.2235, 8.2249
xonɒr 9.2114
xonoali 8.2235
xonkale 10.32
xonbilak 8.4510
xonbor 8.4510
xoropa 2.3243, 8.2238, 8.2246
xola 3.35
xolɒk 8.2222
xoloka 8.2222
xolok dɦolok 8.2413
xollɒ 2.45
xu 8.226212
xui 6.23, 10.32
xua 8.226212
xuai 3.5211
xuɔni 3.48, 3.5210
xũɔri 6.23
xuka 8.2230
xukathi 8.252124
xukan 2.3243
xukomal 8 252124
xukur 3.35
xuklɒ 2.45
xukh 2.3232
xukhmɒ 2.45
xukhjati 2.3232
xuta 9.2111
xutham 8.252124
xud 2.3223
xudin 8.252124
xudirɒni 8.2226
xudirgɦɒ 10.34
xudur 8.252124
xudɦisila 5.2320, 5.2330

xudɦisilõ 9.2112
xuptɒ 2.45
xubɦɒdra 2.3223
xubɦrɒ 2.45
xuspl 8.252124
xusthɒ 3.48
xusruxa 2.3241
xuzɒn 8.252124
xuɦi 3.6416
xuɦuri 2.3244
xuɦrid 2.45
xumeru 8.252124
xun 9.1213
xuni 9.1321, 10.34
xunit 3.24
xunibi 9.1313
xunam 8.252124
xunɒk 9.131410
xunuoa 6.25
xunuua 3.5210, 6 25
xunjɒ 2.3252, 3.32
xuŋ 2.3253, 3.6416
xur 2.3270, 10.34
xurɒte 10.34
xuruz 2.3242
xulɒbɦ 2.3214, 8.252124
xulɔlit 2.3260

ɦ

ɦia 3.5210
ɦikɔti 8.2230, 8.226217
ɦikɔtia 8.2230, 8.2248, 8.226217
ɦit 2.3244
ɦitopɒdex 2.3211
ɦimalɒe 2.3244
ɦin 8.2231, 8.2246, 8.252115
ɦinɒta 8.2231, 8.2246
ɦindue 10.34
ɦiŋxa 8.2234
ɦiŋxuk 8.2234
ɦira 2.3270
ɦe 7.2214
ɦetu 2.3244
ɦẽsi 3.6411
ɦẹrɔu 8.2252
ɦẽkɛra 8.252117
ɦɛkar 8.2239
ɦẽdali 8.252117
ɦẽpa 8.252117
ɦẽpha 8.252117
ɦɛphɒni 2.3212
ɦɛbaŋ 2.3244
ɦẽsa 2.3244, 3.6412
ɦembelia 8.2224, 8.252117
ɦembɛlɒni 8.2224, 8.252117
ɦɛno 5.2221, 5.2223, 10.34
ɦɛndali 8.252117
ɦɛndol 8.252117
ɦɛrpher 8.2413
ɦɛtɛm 8.2236
ɦɛlɛm 8.2236
ɦɛla 2.3244, 3.6412, 8.252112
ɦai 3.6413
ɦãi 3.6413
ɦãkota 8.2230
ɦag 6.25
ɦaguri 8.2240
ɦagura 6.25, 8.2240
ɦat 2.1211, 6.25, 8.2221, 8.2228, 8.2248, 8.252112

ɦati 1.3210
ɦate 9.2111
ɦatere 9.2111, 9.2114
ɦatɔɦi 8.2221, 8.2248
ɦatɔrua 8.2228
ɦatora' 6.25
ɦatkhɒni 8.4316
ɦathi 1.3210
ɦat mar 10.34
ɦaph 2.3212
ɦabi 8.2225
ɦabiɒni 8.2225
ɦaspɒtalɒt 10.3311
ɦazarta 8.4317
ɦãɦ 2.3244, 8.2224
ɦãɦi 2.3244, 3.31
ɦaɦibilak 8.4511
ɦãɦibor 8.4511
ɦãɦe 9.2111
ɦãɦzɒni 8.4311
ɦami 8.2221, 8.226317
ɦamia 8.226217
ɦamaɦi 8.2221
ɦamkhuri 8.2258
ɦar 2.3244
ɦal 2.1211, 8.2233
ɦalisa 6.25, 8.2245
ɦalɔi 8.2233
ɦalɔdɦi 2.3244, 2.45
ɦaloa 1.3210
ɦaluai 8.2233
ɦaldɦi 2.45
ɦɒ 6.22, 8.252211
ɦɒe 9.2110
ɦɒtɒɲa 8.2237
ɦɒr 8.252121
ɦɒrɒe 3.5210
ɦɒrɒo 3.5210
ɦɒrɒɒ 2.3244
ɦɒl 1.3210
ɦɔisil 6.22
ɦɔbɒ 3.23
ɦɔbɔ 3.23
ɦɔbɔla 6.22
ɦɔriddar 2.3281
ɦɔridwar 2.3281, 2.45
ɦɔrina 2.3244
ɦɔl 1.3210
ɦɔle 9.2110
ɦɔlɔu 8.2252
ɦɔlõ 10.3313
ɦokar 8.2239
ɦokarɒni 2.3244, 8.2227, 8.2251
ɦõɦɒk 8.2222
ɦoropa 8.2238
ɦoloɲ 8.2237
ɦoloɲa 8.2237
ɦukum 2.3244
ɦukumto 8.4317
ɦuta 2.3244
ɦudu 2.3223
ɦus 2.3241, 8.252114
ɦulɒsthul 9.2110
ɦridɒe 2.45
ɦrax 2.45
ɦrɒd 2.45

m

mikir 2.3251
mitmat 8.2414

misikia 8.2222
misiri 2.3241, 3.1312
minɔti 3.31
mil 8.226213, 8.252211
mila 8.226213
milai 10.34
milɒn 3.41
mekuri 8.2260
mele 3.22
meluai 8.2233
meluɔi 6.21
mɛkhɛ́la 2.3232, 3.22
mɛkhɛlakhɒn 8.4315
mɛgh 2.3234
mɛtɛka 2.3221
mɛ̄d 2.3223
mɛz 2.3242
mɛx 2.3243
mɛmɛ́ra 2.3251
mɛnɛ́zar 3.31
mɛl 6.21, 7.2219, 8.2221, 8.2233, 8.226214
mɛle 3.22, 3.42, 3.43
mɛleki 2.3231
mɛla 8.2221, 8.226214
mɛlaɦi 8.2221
maia 3.41
maika 8.2245
maa 3.5210
maora 3.47
mauria 6.25
make 9.2112
maku 8.2247
mag 8.2227
magɦ 2.3234
mat 2.1211, 8.226215, 8.252312
mati 6.25, 9.2112
matit 2.3221, 9.2115, 10.34
matisõ 9.2112
matri 2.3221, 10.3311
mathai 10.34
mathokthoka 8.2415
made 1.3210
madɔi 1.3210
madɔie 3.41
madɔiei 3.5212
madɔir 3.5210
maph 2.3212
mas 62.5, 8.2233
mastɒrɒni 8.2226
maz nixa 9.2110
maɦ 8.2225, 8.2241
maɦiɛkbilak 8.4511
maɦiɛkbor 8.4511
maɦiɦɒ̄t 8.4512
maɦili 8.2241, 8.2249
maɦɛk 2.3231
maɦɒni 8.2225
maɦtɔli 8.2261
mami 2.3251
mama 2.3251, 9.2212
mamak 9.2215
mamar 9.2213
mamara 9.2214
man 8.2226, 8.2230, 8.2249
mani 8.2249
manini 8.2226
manɒni 8.2227
manɒnia 3.5210
manuɦ 2.3252, 3.31, 8.3212, 9.2110
manuɦe 3.42, 9.2111
manuɦɒtkɔi 9.2115
manuɦɒr 9.2114

manuñgɒraki 8.4312
manuñto 8.4314
manuñtok 9.2112
manuñdal 8.4317
manuñbilak 8.4511
manuñbor 8.4511
manuñzɒn 8.4310
manuñzɒni 8.4311
manti 8.2230, 8.2249
manjɒ 2.3252
mar 8.2223, 8.226217, 8.2310
mari 8.226217
marile 9.2110, 9.2111
marilõ 4.2313, 5.2213
marka 2.3231
margɒ 2.3233
marzzitɒ 2.3242
mal 2.1211, 8.2257
mali 8.2226
malini 8.2226
mala 8.2226
malkhana 8.2258
maljɒ 2.3260, 2.45
mɒe 3.42, 9.1213, 9.2110, 9.2112 9.2113, 9.3111, 9.3120, 9.3214, 10.32, 10.3311, 10.41, 10.4111, 10.43
mɒeo 3.42
mɒeto 10.3313
mɒena 3.42
mɒkka 2.3231, 2.45
mɒgɒnia 2.1212
mɒgɒniar 8.2227, 8.2240
mɒgun 2.45
mɒt 6.22, 8.2248, 8.252126, 8.252211
mɒtɒrkhɒn 8.4315
mɒta 8.226215, 8.252312
mɒd 2.3223, 8.2221
mɒdañi 3.1312, 8.2221
mɒdhjɒm 2.3224
mɒsoai 2.3281
mɒzza 2.3242
mɒñ 2.3244
mɒñapuruxia 4.14
mɒñabñarɒtɒr 5.2310, 5.2320
mɒñɒtali 8.2235
mɒñɒttɒ 8.2235
mɒn 8.252115
mɒne prane 9.2111
mɒne mɒne 9.2111
mɒnai 8.2233
mɒnɒt 10.34
mɒntri 2.3221, 10.41, 10.42
mɒndir 2.45
mɒŋɒñ 2.3253
mɒr 8.2221, 8.2223, 8.2310, 8.252211
mɒrɒk 8.2223
mɒrõti 3.23
mɒrɒñ 8.2221
mɒrɒm 2.3251, 3.31, 8.2235
mɒrɒmial 6.22, 8.2235
mɒrɒn 8.2510, 8.252110, 8.252112, 8.252211
mɒrɒna 8.2227
mɒrɒnxil 9.2110
mɒrɒŋ 8.2237
mɒrɒŋgñɒr 8.2237
mɒrɔmial 6.22
mɒl 8.2229, 8.2237

mɒlɒs 8.2229
mɒlɒŋ 8.2237
mɔi 3.46, 7.2218
mɔia 7.2218
mɔiai 3.5212
mɔira 4.14
mɔu 3.48, 7.2218
mɔukhik 3.48
mɔuzadar 8.2255
mɔti 6.22, 8.2248, 8.252126
mɔtia 6.22, 8.2249
mɔsua 6.25
mɔsuai 8.2233
mɔzumdar 8.2255
mɔri 9.1410
mɔria 8.2248, 8.226217
mɔriɒni 3.5210
mɔril 9.131420
mɔrɔmial 6.22
mɔk 5.2320, 5.2330, 9.2110, 9.3214, 10.3313, 10.43
mokɒt 8.2230
mokɒl 8.2224, 8.2249
mokɒla 8.2224
mokota 8.2230
mokhora 8.2228
mot 9.3214
motɒk 8.2222
motoka 8.2230
mosɒr 8.2228
moɦar 8.2239
momai 6.24, 9.2212
momaiɛr 6.24
momaɛr 6.24
mor 2.3270, 5.2212, 5.222, 5.2320, 7.2214, 9.3214, 10.34
more 9.3214
molɔi 9.3214
muikkhɒ 2.45
mukɔli 8.2224
mukut 2.3221
mukuta 2.3231
mukul 2.3260
muksa 1.3212
mukh 8.2228
mukhe 9.2111
mukhere 9.2111
mukhɒr 8.2228
mukhɒra 8.2228, 8.2246
mugdɦɒ 2.45
muth 2.3222
muthi 2.1212
mudɦ 2.3224, 8.2229
mudɦɒs 2.3224, 8.2229
muzura 2.3242
munixai 8.2233
muri 2.3270
mura 2.52
muruli 2.3270
murkhami 8.2236
murkhali 8.2235
murkhɒ 2.3232, 2.45, 8.2235
murti 2.3270
mursa 2.3241
murɦa 2.52
mul 3.48
muljaŋkɒn 2.3260
muljɒ 2.45
mritɒ 2.3251
mritjɒ 2.45
mlan 2.46
mjad 2.3251, 2.45

n

ni 6.24, 8.226215, 9.15
niisil 6.24
nieo 3.5211
nia 8.226215
niai 2.3282
niam 3.6410
nipk 9.131410
nipti 3.31
niɔmia 3.5210
niõ 3.47
nioa 6.25
niua 6.25
nikal 8.252118
nikpta 8.252115, 8.252118
nikɔrun 8.252118
nikhut 8.252118
nigpni 2.3233
nigpr 8.252116, 8.252118
niti 8.252211
nitiktika 8.252313
nite 8.2253
nite nite 8.2252
nitɔu 2.3221, 3.46, 3.5210, 8.2252
nidi 8.252311
nidiõ 3.5210
nidisili 9.1313
nidilõ 8.252311
nidɦpn 8.252118
nidɦpni 8.252118
nibisar 8.252311
nibixa 8.252311
nibar 8.252118
nibp 3.45
nibuka 8.252118
nibɦaz 8.252118
nis 2.3241, 8.2231
nisin 8.252311
nisina 4.1210, 4.14, 8.252118, 9.2114
nisil 6.24
nisila 4.1210, 4.14
nisa 8.2510, 8.252118
nispta 8.2231
nisuka 8.252118
niskrip 2.45
niskrpmpn 2.3270
nistpbdɦp 2.45
nispran 2.45
nisprpbɦ 2.3214
nissne 2.3241, 2.45
niz 7.2219, 9.3120
nize 9.3111, 9.3214
nizere 9.3214
nizapi 8.252118
nizpk 9.3214
nizpt 9.3214
nizpr 8.252118, 9.3214
nizplɔi 9.3214
nixik 8.252311
nixedɦ 2.3224
nixex 2.3244
nixa 2.3243
nixaɦ 8.252122
nixpndeɦ 2.3244
niɦxex 2.3244
niɦxpndeɦ 2.3244
nimpkh 2.3252
nimpz 2.3242
nimu 1.3210
ninɨba 2.3252
nirikh 2.3232
nirpb 8.252118
nirpx 8.252118
nirpɦa 8.252118

nirodɦ 8.252118
nirup 8.252118
nilɒg 2.3233, 8.252110, 8.252115, 8.252118
ne 10.32, 10.34
neul 3.6411
nede 8.252311
nedekhi 9.1321, 9.2110
nemu 1.3210
nerua 8.252311
nelu 8.2247
nɛ̃og 8.2226
nɛ̃ogɒni 8.2226
nɛ̃ota 3.47, 3.5210
nɛ̃kat 8.252311
nɛ̃kha 8.252311
nɛ̃pɛ̃r 8.252311
nɛ̃pala 8.252312
nɛ̃bɛ̃se 9.131420
nɛ̃bas 8.252311
nɛ̃barɦ 8.252311
nɛ̃sɛ̃k 8.252311
nɛ̃sat 8.252311
nɛ̃z 8.2235
nɛ̃mɛ̃l 8.252311
nɛ̃mat 8.252311
nɛr 8.252311
nɛlɛkh 8.252311
nai 9.17, 10.3311, 10.34
naiika 3.41, 3.5211, 6.24
naiɒk 8.2223
nao 3.47, 3.5210, 8.2228, 8.2246
naoei 3.5212
naoɔria 6.25
naora 6.25, 8.2228, 8.2246
nak 8.2230
nakat 8.252311
nakɔti 8.2230
nakha 8.252311
nakhaisil 9.131420
nat 2.1211, 6.25, 8.2223
natika 6.25, 8.2223
natɒk 8.2223
nad 1.3212
nador 8.2239
napae 3.42
nabas 8.252311
nabasisil 9.131420
nabasil 9.131420
nabarɦ 8.252311
nas 8.25, 8.226218
nasi 9.1213
nasisa 6.25
nasat 8.252311
nazabi 9.1313
nazabɒ 10.3312
nax 8.252115
naɦila 10.3312
nam 8.252114, 9.2120
namat 8.252311,
namatibɒ 9.131420
namatise 9.131420
namatile 9.131420
namate 9.131420
namtidɔl 2.45
nan 8.252311
nanan 2.3252
naŋɒth 8.2232
nãr 8.252311
nal 2.1211
nɒ 4.2313, 5.2213, 8.2252, 9.2113
nɒkɒeo 3.42
nɒkɒõ 9.1311
nɒkɒõei 3.47
nɒkɒr 8.252311
nɒkɒralɔike 9.2113
nɒkɒroa 8.252311

ɒpkɔla 3.44
ɒpksa 2.45
ɒpkh 2.3232
ɒptɒktɒka 8.252313
ɒppɒra 8.252312
ɒppɒrɦ 8.252311
ɒppɒrɦa 8.252311
ɒpbɔɦi 9.1410
ɒpbbɔi 2.3213
ɒpɦɒle 10.3312
ɒpmɒta 8.252312
ɒpmɒtam 9.1311
ɒpmrɒ 2.3251
ɒpna 8.252311
ɒpra 8.2225
ɒ̃pra 8.252311
ɒprani 8.2225, 8.2227
ɒprɒõ 9.2113
ɒprtɒk 8.2251
ɒprtɔki 8.2223, 8.2251
ɒpl 8.2247
nava 8.2242
nɔikhɒn 8.4315
nɔu 8.2252
nɔuka 3.48
nɔkɔribi 9.1313
nɔkɔriba 9.1312
nɔkɔrisilõ 9.1311
nɔgɔl 8.252311
nɔtua 6.25
nɔtun 2.3252
nɔdi 8.2235
nɔdie 3.5210
nɔdiei 3.5211
nɔdial 8.2235
nɔdire 9.2114
nɔdɔure 8.252311
nɔdɦouabi 8.252311
nɔpɔrɦili 9.1313
nɔbiu 8.2242
nɔbbɔi 2.45, 8.252212
nɔsɔtia 8.252312
nɔsua 6.25, 8.2247, 8.226218
nɔsuaiei 3.5213
nɔlisa 8.2245
nɔlɔi 8.252311
noari 9.1321
noarim 9.2113
nokhoa 8.252312
nokhol 8.252311
notopɒnia 8.252311
nodoka 3.31
nodɦoe 3.5210
nodɦopo 3.5211
nopoa 8.252312
noboa 8.252311
nozoa 8.252312
noxo 8.252311
nom 8.2235
nomal 8.2235
nola 8.252311
nukulkula 8.252313
nukhua 8.252311
nukhuae 9.131420
nubuzi 9.1321
nubuzilõ 10.3311
nuxua 8.252311
nuxun 8.252311
nuxuni 9.1321, 9.1410, 9.2110
nuxune 2.3243
nunukia 8.252311
nur 8.252311
nurua 8.252311
nulia 8.252311
nritjɒ 2.45

nripɔti 2.45
njai 2.3282, 2.45
njaiik 3.5211

r

riksa 2.45
ritu 2.3270, 3.1313
riŋ 8.226217
riŋi 8.226217
riŋia 8.226217
reph 2.3212
renu 2.3270, 3.1313
neŋŋun 2.3253, 2.45
relkhɒn 8.4315
rɐkha 2.3270
rakh 2.1211
rag 8.2235
ragial 3.5210, 8.2235, 8.2248
rati 6.26
ratia 6.26
raɖhika 8.2223
rap 2.3270
razjɒkhɒn 10.3112, 10.4111
ram 9.2110
rame 9.2111
ramere 9.2114
ramɒk 9.2112
ramɒtkɔi 9.2115
ramɒr 9.2114
ramɒlɔi 9.2113
ranu 3.1313
randɦ 8.2227
randɦɒni 8.2227
raŋɔli 8.2224
rɒ 2.3270
rɒe 3.42
rɒee 3.5210
rɒeei 3.5212
rɒtnɒ 2.45
rɒth 8.2510, 8.252123
rɒb 8.252118
rɒbɒr 2.3213
rɒs 8.2223, 8.252115
rɒsɒk 8.2223
rɒsɔki 8.2223
rɒz 8.2310, 8.252115
rɒza 9.1410,
rɒzɒnzɒn 8.2415
rɒzɒnzɒna 8.252313
rɒx 8.252118
rɒmja 2.3251, 2.45
rɒn 6.22
rɒŋ 8.2229, 8.2235, 8.2241, 8.2249, 8.2251
rɒŋa 8.2224, 8.2229
rɒŋali 8.2235, 8.2249
rɒŋɔsua 8.2229, 8.2247
rɒŋ bɐrɒŋɒr 5.2212, 52221, 5.2222, 5.2224, 5.2320
rɔthi 8.2510, 8.252123
rɔd 2.3270, 3.46
rɔdali 3.1312, 3.44
rɔbi 2.3213
rɔbɒ 9.2113
rɔnua 6.22
rɔŋil 8.2241
rɔŋili 8.2241, 8.2251
ro 2.3270
rop 2.5211
rok 8.252125
rogi 3.24
rodɦ 8.252118
roɦini 3.1312, 3.24
rukmini 2.3231, 2.45
rukmɒ 2.3231
rugi 3.24
ruti 2.1211, 2.3270

rup 2.3211, 2.3270, 8.2221, 8.2235, 8.2251, 8.252118, 8.252126
rupɒɦ 8.2221, 8.2251
rupɔɦi 8.2235, 8.2251
ruɦini 3.1312, 3.24

l

likh 7.2219
likhi 10.41
likhise 9.2113
lipsa 2.45
lili 2.3260
lekhika 8.2223, 8.2245
lekhɔni 3.22
leteru 6.21
lezu 6.21
leɦuka 8.2234
lɛ́kh 2.2240
lɛkharu 8.2240
lɛkhɒk 8.2223
lɛkhɒn 3.22
lɛkhɒni 3.22
lɛkhɔni 3.22
lɛtɛra 6.21, 8.2228
lɛteru 6.21
lɛz 2.3243
lɛɦɛm 8.2236
lɛm 2.45
lɛmp 2.45
lɛŋta 2.45, 3.22, 3.6412
lɛrɛla 8.2224
lɛreli 8.2224
lai 3.44, 8.252115
laɛ́k 3.44, 3.5210
lau 3.48, 3.5210
laut 3.5210
lakh 2.1211, 2.3232
lakhuti 2.3232
lag 8.2230, 8.252110
lagi 8.252110
lagibɒ 9.2113, 10.3313
lage 5.2212, 5.2222, 5.2224, 5.2320, 9.2110
lagɔtia 8.2230
lagɔtial 8.2230, 8.2235, 8.2248
lat 8.252115
laph 2.3212
labɦ 2.3214, 8.2258
labɦkhur 8.2258
laz 2.3242, 8.2234
lazuki 8.2234, 8.2247, 8.2251
lazuka 8.2234, 8.2247
laɦ 8.2230
laɦi 8.2234
laɦɔti 8.2230
laɦnda 1.3212
lal 2.3260, 8.2230, 8.2249
lalɔti 8.2230, 8.2249
lalbaɦadur 10.41, 10.4112
lɒ 6.21, 6.22, 9.1212
lɒekkhɒ 2.45
lɒɒ 3.5210
lɒõ 3.5210, 9.1311
lɒɒɒ 6.22
lɒkhai 8.2233
lɒkhmɒɒ 2.45, 9.2115
lɒkhjɒ 10.34
lɒg 6.22, 8.2228, 8.2249, 8.252118
lɒga 8.2227
lɒgɒɒiar 8.2227, 8.2240
lɒgɔri 8.2228, 8.2249
lɒgɔria 6.22, 8.2227, 8.2228
lɒgɒɒ 2.3233, 2.45
lɒgɦɒn 2.3234
lɒta 6.22, 8.2223, 8.2248
lɒtar 8.2239

lɒtha 8.2237
lɒthɒŋa 8.2237
lɒthɒŋthɒŋ 8.2415
lɒthɒra 8.2228
lɒpha 2.3212
lɒbɦjɒ 2.3214
lɒmba 10.34
lɒnđɒn 4.2313, 5.2213
lɒndɒnɒlɔi 9.2113
lɒŋgɦ 2.3234
lɒŋgɦɒn 2.3253, 2.45
lɒr 8.252110
lɒrɔ́k phɒrɒk 8.2413
lɔi 9.2112
lɔia 10.34
lɔukik 3.48
lɔgɔria 6.22
lɔgɦu 2.3234
lɔti 6.22, 8.2248
lɔtika 8.2223
lɔthia 8.2248
lɔbɒ 3.23
lɔbɔ 3.23
lɔra 3.44, 3.46, 4.14, 9.2111
lɔrae 3.42
lɔraio 3.5211
lɔrak 9.2112
lɔrakhɒn 8.4513
lɔrati 8.4314
lɔrabor 9.2110
lɔrabore 9 2111
lɔrazɒn 8.4310
lɔraɦɒt̃ 8.4512
lɔru 1.3212
loe 3.5210
loa 6.21, 9.2111
loo 3.47, 3.5210
loke 2.3231
lodɦoma 8.2236
lodɦom dɦoma 8.2415
lobɦ 2.3214
luit 3.41, 3.5210
luitɒr 3.5210
luti 2.1211
luruk 8.2222
lurumi 8.2235
luruma 8.2236

DATE LABEL

ASSAMESE DEPARTMENTAL LIBRARY

J.B.COLLEGE (AUTONOMOUS), JORHAT

(Please check the book before issue)

Date of Issue	Date of Issue	Date of Issue

THE AUTHOR

Dr. Golockchandra Goswami (b. 1925) is at present Professor and Head of the Post-graduate Department of Assamese of the Gauhati University. He had his M.A. in Assamese language and literature (language group) in 1953 from the Gauhati University and received advanced training in linguistics in Deccan College, Poona (1955-'56) as Research Fellow of the said College; and thereafter in University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A. for two years (1956-'58) as Fellow of the Rockefelle Foundation of New York.

Professor Goswami joined the Department of Assamese of the Gauhati University in 1954 and has been serving there continuously ever since.

Books by the Author

1. An Introduction to Assamese Phono-logy, First Edn. 1966, published by Deccan College, Poona.
2. Dhvanivijñānar Bhūmikā (i.e. General Phonetics, in Assamese) 1st Edn. 1967, 2nd, Edn. 977, Bani Prakash, Gauhati.
3. Asamīyā Varṇaprakāś (i.e. Assamese Phonology, in Assamese) Edn. 1969, 2nd Edn. in Press.
4. Asamīyā Ākhar-jōṭani (i.e. Assamese spelling System, in Assamese) 1st Edn. 1972, New Book-Stall, Gauhati.
5. Golok Vyākaraṇ, Prabodh Bhāg, 1st Edn. 1972, Revised 2nd Edn. 1973.
6. Golok Vyākaraṇ, Subodh Bhāg, 1st Edn. 1973.
7. Edited : Sudharmār Upākhyān of Padmāvati Devīphukanani, 2nd. Edn., 1967, New Book-Stall, Gauhati.
8. Edited and Revised : Assamese, Its Formation and Development of Dr. B. Kakati, 2nd Revised Edn. 1962; 3rd Edn. 1972, Lawyer's Book-Stall, Gauhati.

Ready for Publication

1. Aspects of Assamese : Selected papers on Assamese language and linguistics.
2. Essentials of spoken Assamese, a course book on learning Assamese.
3. Asamīyā Vyākaraṇar Maulik vicār (i.e. Fundamentals of Assamese Grammar, in Assamese).
4. Dhvanivijñāner Bhūmikā (i.e. General Phonetics, in Bengali).
5. Asamīyā Vyākaraṇ Praveś (A

DR.BENU GOGOI COLLECTION/